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THE EXPANSION OF THE EAST GERMANIC PEOPLES,

ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS (S. P. M.)

by

ALEXANDER MALYCKY

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THE EXPANSION OF THE EAST GERMANIC PEOPLES, ILLUSTRATED
BY MAPS.

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BY

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Chapter 1

THE INDO-EUROPEAN PROBLEM IN THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD

The problem of the origin and expansion of the Germanic people is an integral part of the problem of the Indo-Europeans of whom the Germanic people are but a branch. The original home of the Indo-Europeans and which of the Neolithic cultures is to be associated with them has been up to the present a matter of controversy. Many different solutions of this problem have been offered. The frame of this thesis does not include a discussion as to which of the solutions offered seems to be the right one. Therefore I shall only describe briefly the Megalithic and the Corded Ware cultures, indicate the area of their role in the formation of the Indo-European people, since both of these cultures are the main candidates for the title of Indo-European 'Urvolk'. Finally I shall choose one of the theories---in my opinion the most probable--- as the working basis in order to arrive at the stage where it is possible to speak about the Germanic people as an ethnic unity and about their homeland.

In Europe, the third millennium B.C., was the scene of the appearance, the growth and the decline of a new culture, the Megalithic, named after the large stone graves which were erected as homes for the dead. The idea of building these huge stone graves and monuments seems to have originated in the Eastern Mediterranean areas, to have spread westward and then, following the Atlantic litoral, to have finally reached Northern Europe. In Denmark, Southern Sweden and Northern Germany (between the

Elbe and the Oder) a special type of the Megalithic culture was developed --- the Northern Megalithic culture. This burial practice, the erection of a home for the dead, appears to have been introduced into many areas along the Atlantic litoral and into Denmark by the tall Atlanto-Mediterranean type, apparently a mixed type, although basically Mediterranean.¹⁾ In this case the people introducing the new cultural idea presumably a seaborne movement, imposed their civilization on the native inhabitants. A gradual assimilation of the cultures and of the physical types took place. The resulting culture and the more or less unified physical type later expanded over vast areas to the south and east.

Some students of this problem are of the opinion that no movement of new people into Northern Europe took place at the time of the appearance of the cult of the dead, but that it was only the cult-idea which spread and was adopted by the native population, who, descendants of the Mesolithic people of Northern Europe, in turn developed a specific culture and carried this culture into many parts of Europe.²⁾

It should also be noted that the people who, at the time of this expansion, (See Map 1) brought the Megalithic culture to the British Isles were not of the same physical type as the Northern Megalithic people. They were of the short Mediterra-

1) Coon: Races of Europe p. 281 (Deniker's classification).

2) Schwantes: Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins, I, 3, pp. 221-223.

nean type, either entering the British Isles by sea, or overland across Spain and France, and the movement was somewhat later than that of the Northern Megalithic Atlanto-Mediterranean type, since the earliest type of Megalithic graves, the dolmen grave, is very scarce in the British Isles.¹⁾

The Megalithic graves are community graves. They can be divided into three main stages of development: 1) dolmen graves, 2) passage or corridor graves (called Long Barrows in the British Isles), and 3) stone cists (Steinkistengräber). The pottery of the Megalithic culture differs materially from that of the latter stages of the Mesolithic culture and differs also from that of other European Neolithic cultures, such as the Painted Pottery, Banded Pottery, Swiss Lake Dwelling, Western European and Corded Ware cultures. For present purposes the differences between the Northern Megalithic culture and the Corded Ware culture are of special importance. Not only was there a significant difference in the pottery of the two cultures, but the type of battle-axes are also radically different. The people of the Northern Megalithic culture were predominantly agriculturists²⁾ and in their expansion they overran first of all the loess areas, avoiding mountains and highlands. They thus overran the areas occupied by the peaceful agricultural populations of the Rhineland, Southern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and the Ukraine, areas occupied at that time by people of the Banded and Painted Pottery cultures. This means

1) Coon: Races of Europe p. 281 (Deniker's classification).

2) Schwantes: Deutschlands Urgeschichte, p. 110 and p. 112.

that in their expansion they occupied parts of the Rhine Valley, the valley of the Upper Danube, reached the foot-hills of the Alps, and expanded across the Central European Plain as far as the Dniepr river. From there they sent out colonies to the Kuban and even expanded to the head waters of the Volga river. (See Map 1) To the North they occupied Southern Sweden, East Prussia and the valley of the Bug river.

But in the time span between 2,500 and 2,000 B.C. we witness the rise of another culture, that of the Corded Ware (or Single Grave or Battle Axe). Racially the people of this culture belonged to the Nordic type.¹⁾ Opinions are again divided as to their original home. Kossina regards Jutland and Schleswig-Holstein as their homeland;²⁾ Schulz places the homeland in the highlands of Thuringia and Saxony;³⁾ others prefer the Central Asiatic steppes, including the steppe area of the Ukraine.⁴⁾ In the first two cases the Corded Ware population would be pockets of the old Mesolithic inhabitants who had not been overrun at the time of the expansion of the Northern Megalithic people. The areas occupied by them are predominantly more suited for a pastoral or at least semi-pastoral life than for the growing of grain, and therefore we find the Corded Ware people favoring cattle-raising rather than grain-

1) Schwantes: op. cit. p. 111.

2) Kossinna: Ursprung und Verbreitung der Germanen, p. 160.

3) Schulz: Germanen und Indogermanen, p. 32.

4) Wahle: Deutsche Vorzeit; Günther: Der Ursprung der Germanen; Childe: The Aryans.

growing, although the latter was of course not by any means excluded.¹⁾ The semi-nomadic life could also be responsible for their warlike nature which shows itself clearly in their elaborately shaped battle-axes. This combative nature may also explain why they were not conquered by the waves of Northern Megalithic expansion. It was much easier to subject the peaceful agricultural people of the Banded and Painted Pottery cultures in the rich loess areas than the warlike Corded Ware people.

The graves of this second culture were single graves with no stone structures erected above them; they were covered only with a shallow mound, a survival no doubt of the Mesolithic burial practice of burial in a shallow shaft grave, except that the addition of a low mound may have been due to the influence of the Northern Megalithic culture. Their battle-axes had a characteristic canoe-like shape, distinguishing them sharply from the battle-axes of the Northern Megalithic culture. Their pottery was ornamented by winding a cord around the wet clay before it was baked.

During their period of expansion the people of the Corded Ware culture followed in general the invasion routes used by the people of the Northern Megalithic culture before them, but expanded over somewhat wider areas. To the west they occupied the Rhine valley and following the passes of the Jura mountains reached the Rhone. They occupied the Bohemian Plain. They moved down the Danube valley, penetrated into Jugo-Slavia along the Morava river and through

1) Schwantes: op. cit. p. 112.

the Maritza valley reached Aegean shores, spreading from there into Greece and crossing to Asia Minor. Like the Northern Megalithic people before them, they too reached the region of the Caucasus. In their northern expansion they occupied Southern Scandinavia and the eastern shores of the Baltic. Following continental routes, across the Northern European Plain, they spread as far eastward as the Middle Volga river. In many final stages these migration movements were not completed until the Bronze Age (See Map 2).

Which of the two cultures represent the Indo-European people? Some think that the people of the Northern Megalithic culture are the Indo-Europeans.¹⁾ As Kossinna sees it, the expansion of the Northern Megalithic people was accomplished by a series of migrations, as a result of which there emerged the different Indo-European peoples. The people of the Corded Ware culture are, in his opinion, the Proto-Finns, the native Mesolithic people of the North, who under the strong influence of the Indo-European Northern Megalithic people, became a mixture which he calls Finno-Indo-European. These Finno-Indo-Europeans, according to Kossinna, later occupied Thuringia and Saxony and became the ancestors of the Celtic and Italic peoples. Kossinna believed that the Corded Ware people were native to Jutland, and merely formed a part of the Indo-European Northern Megalithic expansion movement. Schulz²⁾ accepts the hypothesis that

1) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 153.

2) Schulz: op. cit.

both Northern Megalithic and Corded Ware people are two aspects of the Indo-Europeans. Others regard the Corded Ware people as the Indo-Europeans.¹⁾ Childe²⁾ weighs the evidence for and against the various hypotheses, appears to be of the opinion that the Corded Ware people are the original Indo-Europeans, but is unable on the evidence to come to a definite conclusion as to whether the home of the Corded Ware culture is in Ukraine, in Thuringia or in Jutland. One thing is certain; after the expansion of the original Indo-Europeans a very extensive mixture must have taken place with the different conquered peoples, and out of the resulting physical and cultural assimilation emerged the historic Indo-European peoples.

1) cf. the works of Wahle, Günther, Childe.

2) Childe: op. cit. p. 200.

Chapter 2

THE ORIGIN OF THE GERMANIC PEOPLE

In this thesis I am going to take as a working basis the hypothesis that the Corded Ware people are the original Indo-Europeans, that their homeland was in Thuringia and Saxony, the highland area which had not been overrun by the expanding Northern Megalithic people, and that they were the descendants of the native Mesolithic European population of that area. From there they expanded in all directions (See Map 2). One of these migration movements carried them down the Elbe river. Here they conquered first the people of the Northern Megalithic culture of Northwest Germany, Schleswig-Holstein and Southern Denmark. As a result of this conquest we do not find in these areas the third phase of the Northern Megalithic grave development --- the stone cist. This event took place at the end of the Neolithic period. As a result there was a cultural uniformity in Zone 2 which is not found in Denmark proper, Zone 1¹⁾ (See Map 3). The Northern Megalithic people of Zone 1 also eventually lost the political supremacy to the Corded Ware conquerors. However, the cultural amalgamation in Zone 1 did not take place as rapidly as in Zone 2. The conquered people of the Northern Megalithic culture, concentrated in Eastern Continental Denmark, the Danish Islands and Southern Sweden, maintained their cultural traditions and it was in these areas where the final stage of the Northern Megalithic culture, the stone cist grave, developed.

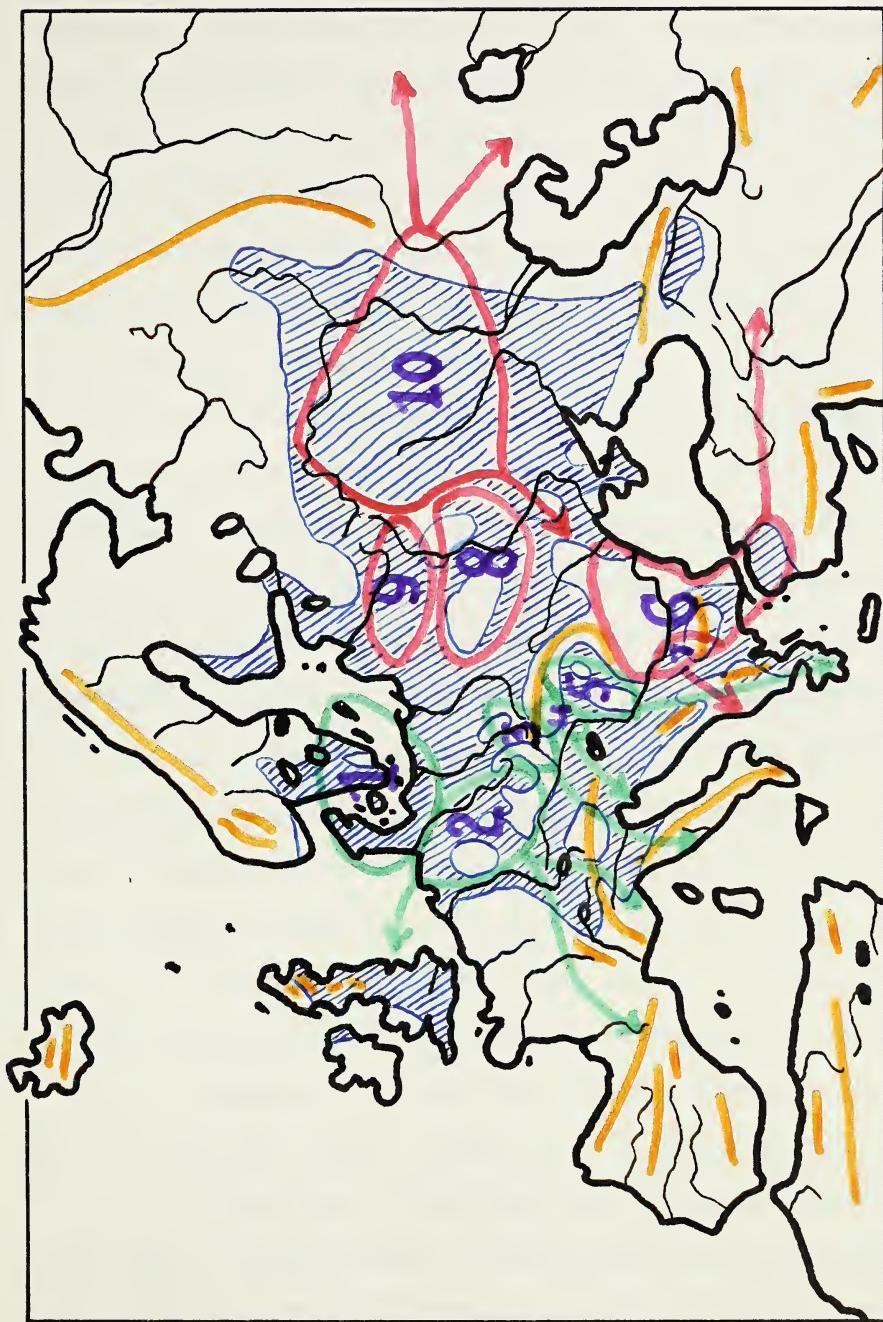
1) Kersten: Zur älteren nordischen Bronzezeit, pp 99 and 106.

The Corded Ware people settled mainly in the western and central parts of the Jutish Peninsula and in Northwestern Germany, presumably because, generally speaking, these areas were more suitable for pastoralism than for grain-growing on an intensive scale. Throughout the whole of Period I of the Bronze Age the two peoples, the Northern Megalithic and the Corded Ware, developed their own separate cultures.¹⁾ And even later in the Bronze Age and reaching into the early phases of the Iron Age in the North, long after the ethnic amalgamation must have been completed, at least in the more densely settled areas, the people of the areas in which the Northern Megalithic people had resisted Indo-Europeanization the longest maintained their special cultural position. It is in these areas that the highest cultural attainments were reached in the Bronze Age. It is therefore possible to assume that the Northern Megalithic people contributed more to the artistic productiveness and the Corded Ware people more to the war-like nature of the Germanic people who developed out of the fusion of the two.²⁾

It is obvious that if the Corded Ware people were the Indo-Europeans and if their original home was in Thuringia and Saxony, they must have been the people who introduced an Indo-European language into the Scandinavian North and into Northwest Germany. There must have followed the linguistic Indo-Europeanization of the people of the Northern Megalithic culture. There can be no doubt that a cultural amalgamation took place, also a physical, in so far as there existed any

1) Kersten: op. cit. p. 106.

2) Ibid. p. 107.



Map 9.

1 - Germanic people, 2 - Celts, 3 - Italic people,
4 - Illyrians, 5 - Greeks, 6 - Thracians, 7 - Albanians,
8 - Slavs, 9 - Baltic people, 10 - Aryans.
Shaded area - The Corded Ware Culture after Stampfuss. Indo-European tribes after Johansson.

radical difference in the dominant physical types of the two cultures. What would be the result of the linguistic Indo-Europeanization? The languages of the Germanic group differ materially from other language groups of the Indo-European stock. If the above explanation of the origin of the Germanic people is correct, it is clear that the Corded Ware people must have imposed their Indo-European language upon a non-Indo-European speaking people. If the sub-stratum hypothesis is accepted as a satisfactory explanation of certain significant phonetic differences between Germanic and other Indo-European languages, we can find fairly satisfactory conditions for the operation of such phonetic tendencies in the cultural and geographical conditions prevailing in the Bronze Age and the early part of the Iron Age in Northern Europe.¹⁾

It has been necessary to give this brief summary of the archaeological, cultural and linguistic background of the Indo-European problem and of the problem of the origin of the Germanic speaking peoples. My specific task, however, is not to discuss these problems, but to show by a series of maps and explanatory comments the expansion of the East Germanic peoples, not into their North European home, but out of it after the establishment of a linguistic and cultural unity in those areas from which the Germanic speaking peoples are known to have spread in the Bronze and Iron Ages.

It was during the Bronze Age and especially during the Older Bronze Age that the process of cultural assimilation

1) Kersten: op. cit. p. 106; Hirt: Etymologie, Konsonantismus - Indogermanische Grammatik, Vol. I; Braun F.: Die Urbevölkerung Europas und die Herkunft der Germanen, *passim*; Prokosch: Germanic Review, Vol. I, Nr.1. 1926.

must have begun. We may safely assume that a linguistic and cultural unity had been achieved before any major emigration took place, otherwise much greater differences would be evident in the different Germanic groups than is the case.

It is then now necessary to examine the Bronze Age, to follow the process of cultural assimilation and to mark the successive stages of the overflow of the population out of the area of characterization of the Germanic people into adjacent areas and beyond.

Chapter 3

THE BRONZE AGE

The Bronze Age is usually divided into five periods but Montelius adds a sixth transitional period. The two main schemes are those of Montelius and Kossinna.¹⁾

Montelius I -- 1800 - 1500 B.C.

II -- 1500 - 1300 B.C.

III -- 1300 - 1100 B.C.

IV -- 1100 - 1000 B.C.

V -- 1000 - 750 B.C.

VI -- 750 - 600 B.C.

Kossinna I -- 2100 - 1750 B.C.

II -- 1750 - 1400 B.C.

III -- 1400 - 1200 B.C.

IV -- 1200 - 1000 B.C.

V -- 1000 - 750 B.C.

In Northern Europe the Bronze Age was preceded by a very short Copper Age, and since Kossinna includes the Copper Age in his first Period, it is necessary for him to date his Period I much earlier than Montelius does. In this Copper Age as well as in Period I of the Bronze Age the old Neolithic cultures continued to flourish side by side with the newer metal culture. It is, however, only in the second part of Period I of the Bronze Age that we can speak of locally manufactured tools, weapons and ornaments.²⁾ These artifacts still bear the traces of the imported wares, but they have already ceased to be mere copies of them and far outnumber

1) Nerman: Die Herkunft und die frühesten Auswanderungen der Germanen, passim; Kossinna: Ursprung und Verbreitung der Germanen, passim

2) Kersten: op. cit. p. 99.

the imported wares.¹⁾ Nor can we speak yet of a specific Northern Bronze style in Period I. This specific style appears first in Period II. The Bronze culture of Northern Europe during Period I still belongs to the extensive Middle European Bronze culture, and is an integral part of it.²⁾ As such it is characterized by the typical geometric ornamentation of the artifacts.

Period I is also the time of the amalgamation of the two different peoples --- Corded Ware and Northern Megalithic --- into one ethnic unity. And only in Period II did the now entirely victorious Bronze culture attain a uniformity and originality of style.³⁾ It is only in Period II of the Bronze Age that we can speak of the Germanic people as an ethnic unity.⁴⁾ According to the chronological scheme of Montelius this would be about 1500 B.C.

In discussing the Bronze Age of Northern Europe some authorities regard the areas affected as being one large uniform entity.⁵⁾ Others, however, think that the areas affected can be divided into three cultural zones.⁶⁾ According to this division Zone 1 comprises the whole of Denmark, except the two southern districts of Ribe and Vejle, large parts of Southern Sweden, especially Scania, and during Periods II and

1) Kersten: op. cit. p. 99.

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid. p. 100

4) Ibid. p. 107

5) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 5.

6) Kersten: op. cit. p. 97.

III the three Northern Frisian islands Sylt, Amrum, and Föhr. (See Map 3). This is the zone that plays a leading role in Period II in the cultural development of the Northern Bronze Age. In Zone I the Bronze Age can scarcely be said to have begun before Period II, the process of fusing the Neolithic cultures with the early Bronze culture being here slower than in Schleswig-Holstein. But once the fusion had taken place the Zone dominates all cultural achievements of Northern Europe, especially in the areas of the former Northern Megalithic people. All leading style-forms develop here first.¹⁾ This area has therefore the greatest number of sub-divisions in the time scheme (See Map 3 and diagram on Page 14).

III	III	III b - Müller VI
		III a - Müller V
II	IIB	II c - Müller IV
	IIIA	II b - Müller III
I	IB	II a - Müller II
	IA	IA - Müller I

1) Kersten: op. cit. p. 97.

According to Kossinna the Germanic people spread in Period II mainly in a southerly direction. The area occupied is enclosed by a line that starts in the east at the mouth of the Peene river at Wogast, runs southward through Anklam, Friedland in Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Strassburg, Prenzlau, Angermünde, Eberswalde, Spandau to Potsdam. From here on it curves toward the Elbe which is reached at a point where the Saale joins the Elbe (near Kalbe a.S.). Then the line goes down the Saale to a point not far south of where the Bode flows into the Saale. Following the right bank of the Bode it reaches the Harz Mountains where it runs through Quedlingen and Blankenburg am Harz. It then follows the northern slopes of the Central German Mountain Range to the northwestern corner of the Teutoburger Wald until it reaches the Ems river and from there on follows that river to the North Sea. (See Map 6).

Kossinna's Period III witnesses the retreat from the Ems to the areas situated on the left bank of the Weser river. (See Map 7). To the south they remain essentially on the northern slopes of the Central German Mountain Range, as during Period II, but occupy the area of the lower Lippe. There are no significant changes in their position in the area between the Elbe and the Oder. But once the latter is reached the border line crosses this river and encloses a good portion of Hinterpommern. To indicate the areas occupied by the Germanic people during Period III in Scandinavia I refer to the information given by R. Stampfuss.¹⁾

1) Map by R. Stampfuss: Die Urgermanenzeit.

These areas were Southern and Central Sweden including Dalsland, Nericke and Upland. Norway is not affected. The Islands of Gotland and Öland were included. (See Map 7).

In the areas east of the Elbe the Germanic people came into touch with the Illyrian population. Already in Period I of the Bronze Age we find here the Illyrian Aunjetiz Culture from which came the great part of the bronze artifacts that were imported into the areas where latter in Period II the Northern Bronze Culture developed. (There were however some bronze imports from England). During the Middle Bronze Age we find here another Illyrian culture - the Lusatian Culture - which probably developed out of the Aunjetiz Culture. This culture was in many ways superior to that of the Germanic people after the latter had passed their cultural zenith during Period II of the Bronze Age. It is before these people that the Germanic wave had to retreat temporarily during Periods IV and V of the Bronze Age. Period III, as conceived by Kersten, covers an area that is much smaller than that of Kossinna. During Period II the Germanic people spread into the province of Mecklenburg. On the other hand they retreated entirely from the district of Stade back to the right bank of the Elbe river. There is no significant change in Southern Scandinavia to be noted at this time. (See Map 5).

Assuming that on the whole Kersten's point of view is more correct than that of Kossinna, the move of the Germanic people during Period III into the province of Mecklenburg can be regarded as the first wave of Germanic expansion which took place. Up to this point we have witnessed the movement of

the Corded Ware people into the North, their mixture with the conquered Northern Megalithic population and the fusion of both peoples into an ethnic and cultural unity. From this point of view then the occupation of Mecklenburg is the first wave of expansion of the Germanic people. From a more conservative point of view this occupation might be regarded as the last phase of the amalgamation process.

Archaeologically Period III witnessed the decline of artistic achievements as compared with those of Period II. The artistic forms change greatly too. At the beginning of this Period we witness the disappearance of the practice of dividing the parts of the artifacts sharply from each other, which was characteristic of Period II. The various parts of the artifacts form now a harmonious whole, each part flowing smoothly into the next. A sharp adaptation of certain ornamentation to certain parts of artifacts, which took place during Period II ceases to exist.¹⁾ In the latter part of the Period the forms become much larger and the ornamentation that was very elegant and graceful in the first part of the Period becomes much ruder.²⁾ Parallel with these changes another very important cultural change took place. With this Period the practice of cremation, which up to now had only been sporadic, became the common burial practice as opposed to Hügelgräber and Eichenbaumsärge burials of Period II.³⁾

Kersten's work deals only with the Older Bronze Age. Consequently I am presenting Kossinna's interpretation of the events of Periods IV and V. The two periods are discussed

1) Kersten: op. cit. p. 103.

2) ibid. p. 104.

3) Hoops: Reallexikon der Germ. Altertumskunde, V.II p. 566 and V. I p. 183.

together, because they were relatively of short duration and no significant changes took place during Period IV. In Period V the Ems river was crossed. The border line goes southwards until it reaches the lower part of the Lippe river where it probably touches the Rhine.¹⁾ It then runs to the headwaters of the Lippe and, leaving the Teutoburger Wald and the Harz on its north side, passes along the valleys of the Gold, Aue and the Unstrut rivers until it reaches the Saale. It now follows the Saale, turns to the right before this river joins the Oder, crosses the Elbe, follows the right bank of it for a while and then, after making a bend, passes Berlin and reaches the Oder. (See Map 7). Between the Elbe and the Oder we witness now a slight retreat of the Germanic settlements as compared with Period III. This retreat is due to the counter advance of the Illyrians which pushed back the advance-posts of the Germanic people for a short time. On the right bank of the Oder the line advances now to the area that lies on the right of the lower Warthe and the Netze until it reaches the Vistula and crosses this river north of the big bend. Then the line turns back to the left bank of this river, crosses it again and ends on the Baltic shore in Samland. (See Map 7).

In respect to the occupied territory east of the Oder L. Schmidt offers a somewhat more conservative view. His border line goes from Berlin through Bernau, Oderberg, crosses

1) From this point the expansion that resulted in Caesar's Germani cisrhennani must have started. See Kossinna: op. cit. p. 24.

the Oder and then to Güstebiese, from there northwards to Soldin, follows the 52nd parallel to the Netze north of Czarnikau. From here the line goes to Schneidemühl, along the Königsberg railway as far as Konitz, then to Prussian Stargard, Dirschau a. d. Weichsel and finally reaches Danzig.¹⁾ In Scandinavia the expansion as presented by R. Stampfuss for the time ca 800 B.C. would correspond to the end of Period V according to Kossinna and Montelius. In the east the border line starts at Hudiksvall, Sweden, not far south of the 62nd parallel. It then procedes westwards far into the valleys of all the large Scandinavian rivers. Only the main mountain massives remain unoccupied. The same is true for the coasts of Norway; the settlements here reach as far as Trondhjem. There are also a few colonies on the shores of Finland. (See Map 7).

It is not until Period V that we meet the first indication of the division of the Germanic people into East and West Germanic. The evidence of this division can be seen in Northern Germany east to the Oder in the development of a new type of burial, probably a local development, the result first of expansion from further west and then isolation. This new type of burial was urn burial in stone cists; in the urns were the incompletely burned bones of the deceased. These are community graves. The urns themselves show an attempt at modelling the human face; they are called 'face urns' (Gesichtsurnen). This form of burial continues throughout a great part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age (750 - 1) Schmidt: Geschichte der Germanischen Frühzeit, p. 21.

O B.C. Montelius scheme). In the northern part of the distinctly Germanic area, however, it dies out about 500 B.C., in more southern areas about 300 B.C., and is replaced by different burial customs.¹⁾ The problem of whose ancestors these people of the face-urn culture were will be discussed later in the chapter on the Iron Age. For the present it is sufficient to note that almost all German archaeologists regard the face-urn people as Germanic, but of the East Germanic division.

The distinction between the East and West Germanic tribes is made on the basis of differences in burial customs, weapons, ornaments, pottery designs and ornamentation. There are also certain linguistic differences, although manuscript evidence dates from much later (Gothic) times.²⁾

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 29.

2) Ibidem p. 28.

Chapter 4

THE IRON AGE

In the discussion of Germanic migrations during the Iron Age I am going to use the time-scheme as given by Montelius.¹⁾ This time-scheme is as follows:

750 B.C. -- 600 B.C., Period VI of the Bronze Age, a period of
600 B.C. -- 300 B.C. Period I of the Iron Age, transition.
300 B.C. -- 150 B.C. Period II of the Iron Age,
150 B.C. -- 0 B.C. Period III of the Iron Age.

Iron replaces bronze mainly in the manufacture of weapons; bronze continues to be used in the making of many artifacts which were used for personal adornment. However, the old artistic skill of the Bronze Age is gone. In time iron rings and brooches gradually appear along with bronze articles, and, of course, iron artifacts increase in number as iron becomes more plentiful.

With the coming of the Iron Age there is a continuous emigration out of the Scandinavian home-land, as an enumeration of some of the more important of the tribes which left those areas during a period of about 750 years will show: Vandals, Langobards, Burgundians, Rugians, Cimbrians, Teutons and Goths. As we shall see later this movement did not cease at the beginning of the present era; the North continued to pour out waves of emigrants.

At the beginning of the Iron Age, that is, during Period VI of the Bronze Age according to Montelius, we witness a

1) Nerman: Die Herkunft und die frühesten Auswanderungen der Germanen, *passim*.

mass movement out of Scandinavia, especially from certain presumably over-populated areas. This does not mean that these areas were denuded of population, but it does mean that the density of the population was very greatly reduced, sufficiently reduced so that a very marked reduction can be noticed in the number of archaeological finds. Only the southwestern and southeastern parts of Norway, Jutland, the islands of Bornholm and Gotland continue to show the same density of artifacts, an indication that the emigration out of these districts was on a much smaller scale.¹⁾ And at the same time the artistic decline which began during Period III of the Bronze Age continues.

Is it possible to assign any reason for this fairly general migration movement? An obvious reason, of course, is increase of population beyond the capacity of the none too fertile soil to supply with adequate food. In primitive, or unsophisticated societies a surplus of food usually results in an increase of population, and even in more advanced societies an increase in production, resulting in the ability to acquire a greater amount of food, will as a rule have the same effect, witness the rapid increase of population in England after the Industrial Revolution. It is, of course, also true that in a highly sophisticated society, a surplus of food, or comforts or leisure, may result in a marked decrease in the birth rate. But we are not dealing with a highly sophisticated society in the

1) Nerman: Die Herkunft und die frühesten Auswanderungen der Germanen, pp. 13-18.

Iron Age of the Germanic North, and from the beginning of the Neolithic Age on, that is, from the time of the first introduction of the food-producing economy, there is every indication of a constantly growing population, increasing to such an extent that the inevitable alternative was emigration or starvation. We have seen this happen in the Neolithic Age with the outward movement of the people of the Northern Megalithic culture; we have noted the beginnings of another emigration movement during the latter part of the Bronze Age; the minor waves of the Bronze Age emigration movement become a storm in the Iron Age, with wave after wave of hungry land-seekers seeking to move south and being forced in part, at least at first, to fan out in a westerly and easterly direction, until with the collapse of the power of the Illyrian and Celtic powers, the flood of migration surged towards the south, and was only restrained for several centuries by the military power of the Roman Empire which established a multitude of road-blocks along the Rhine and the Danube.

Obviously this was one factor in the movement of expansion. But the sunny southern lands have always exerted a strange fascination on the northern peoples, the warm, sunny south where people are reported to live in luxury, where there is plunder for the taking by any war-like band, and where the strong can live on the forced exertions of the conquered natives. It has rarely turned out that way, but nevertheless the belief is a potent magnet. Undoubtedly this too was a factor in this Iron Age Völkerwanderung.

But there is reason to believe that there was another important factor, the factor of climatic deterioration. (See climatic chart following Map 8). The chart attempts to show the correlation between climatic conditions and the immigration into Northern Europe as well as the emigration out of it. It is quite clear that the peopling of Northern Europe could only begin with the retreat of the ice of the Fourth Glacial Period. And the settlements in the North increase as the climate moderates,¹⁾ until finally an optimum climate exists in the Neolithic Age and the upper part of the Bronze Age. Then the climate begins to deteriorate again, perhaps due in part to long term variations in the amount of solar radiation reaching the earth,²⁾ or to isostatic and eustatic adjustments in the relative level of water and land after the melting of the glaciers and the return of the melt-water to the surrounding seas, or to another factor which has only recently been given prominence. This is the hypothesis of Petterson, as reported by R. L. Carlson.³⁾ Petterson claims to have established a climatic cycle for the Scandinavian North of 1800 years. Every 1800 years there is a period of climatic deterioration, caused by what he calls 'moon-waves', the result of the sun and moon exercising a tidal attraction in approximately a straight line. This causes huge tides, which affect the ice-fields of the Arctic and very materially influence the

1) Clark: The Mesolithic Settlement in Northern Europe, *passim*.
2) Gamow: *Biography of the Earth*, Chap. VIII.
3) Carlson: *The Sea around us*, pp. 177 - 182.

direction of the warm Atlantic current, the Gulf Stream, for instance, and as a result Northern Europe does not get the usual benefit of the warm currents for a period of several centuries before and after this low point of climatic deterioration. Now according to Petterson the last period of climatic deterioration in Northern Europe was during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the preceding one would therefore be centred on 500 B.C. This agrees remarkably well with the archaeological evidence of emigration out of the Scandinavian North, just as the geological and botanical¹⁾ evidence of climatic amelioration after the retreat of the ice can be correlated with the immigration into Northern Europe. Just as in the thirteenth century there were floods, harvests failed, the Swedish fisheries went bankrupt, so in the fifth century B.C. plus or minus two or three hundred years, the climatic conditions were such that the food supply was affected, some of the lowlying lands were flooded, and we have here a very compelling factor in the urge to seek other lands further to the south. Some of the popular legends give floods and failure of harvests as a reason for a migration movement. This is particularly true in the case of the Cimbri and the Teutoni, and it is also given as one of the causes for the emigration of the Goths.

Owing to the nature of the soil of Northern Scandinavia the emigration was forced to go in a southerly direction,

1) Clark: op. cit. passim.

and one could expect to be able to note the appearance of new settlements on the southern shores of the Baltic and North Sea. As we shall see, this is what happened. In the Iron Age there took place a very great expansion of the East Germanic Branch, characterized at first by the face-urns and stone-cist burials. According to Kossinna¹⁾ Eastern Germanic tribes very early occupied Hinterpommern, Posen, parts of Silesia and crossed the Vistula into East Prussia. Further south they spread into Southern Poland and the Western Ukraine. (See Map 88). On the whole, however, information about this particular aspect of the expansion process is not too plentiful.²⁾ The map³⁾ by Stampfuss gives the available data for 400 B.C., which may or may not adequately represent the situation at the earlier period, the period of transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, about 600 B.C.

Opinions differ as to what tribes are represented by the people of the face-urn culture. Schmidt⁴⁾ regards the people of the face-urn culture as ancestors of the Basternae and Skiri. Their expansion was caused by the pressure brought to bear on them by the advancing Vandals, who at the time of transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age emigrated from Upland in Sweden, overran the territory of the face-urn culture, undoubtedly mixing with those who remained in the area, and occupied the coasts of the

1) Kossinna: op. cit. Abb. 25.

2) Nerman: op. cit. p. 26.

3) Stampfuss: Die ältere Grossgermanenzeit.

4) Schmidt: op. cit. pp. 29 and 35.

Baltic between the Oder and the Vistula. They appear to have adopted the same burial customs as the people whom they in part displaced, and this adds to the difficulty of archaeological identification.¹⁾ In the region west of the lower Vistula the finds become so numerous that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a new settlement had been made there.²⁾ At the end of the transitional period we also witness, according to Nerman³⁾ the movement of the Langobards from their original home in Scania (Schonen) into the province of Mecklenburg where they remained until about 100 B.C. (See Map 54).

At about 600 B.C. Germanic tribes crossed the Rhine and the Maas and occupied the southern parts of Holland and the northeastern corner of Belgium. It is here that Caesar more than 500 years later found the Germani cisrhenani, who, although already celticized, still retained the memory of their Germanic origin.⁴⁾ (See Map 8).

In Thuringia, however, the Germanic population had to retreat before the advancing Celts who spread to the southern and eastern slopes of the Harz mountains, reaching the Bode river.⁵⁾ (See Map 8).

1) Nerman: op. cit. pp. 26.

2) Ibid. p. 21 and Kossina: Das Weichselland, p. 19.

3) Nerman: op. cit. p. 33.

4) Kossinna: Ursprung und Verbreitung der Germanen, p. 24.

5) Ibid. p. 38.

Chapter 5

THE BASTERNAE

The general opinion prevailing among scholars is that the Basternae are the descendants of the people of the Face Urn culture. (See Map 88). This culture died out in its southern areas according to L. Schmidt about 300 B.C.¹⁾ It is in these areas that we find shortly after this time the Basternae and the Skiri. According to Schmidt therefore the Basternae are the descendants of the Face Urn people who were forced out by the ancestors of the Vandals from their northern territories. Nerman does not offer any definite opinion about their origin. In his early works Kossinna advocated the view that the Face Urn people are the ancestors of the Vandals.²⁾ He thought that the Basternae were the result of the mixture of a part of the Vandals with the Sarmatae.³⁾ Later he changed his mind, apparently under the influence of the works of K. Tackenberg, who was seconded by R. Much and E. Schwarz in his opinion that the mixture was caused by elements of the Lausitz culture.⁴⁾ In his later works Kossinna regarded the Basternae as the result of a mixture of the early Eastern Germanic people with the conquered population of those areas now called Southern Poland, Eastern Galicia and Wolhynia, without mentioning the previously suggested relationship with the Vandals.⁵⁾ The

1) Schmidt: op. cit. pp. 29 and 35.

2) Kossinna: Die deutsche Vorgeschichte, p. 142.

3) Kossinna: Zu meiner Ostgermanen-Karte.

4) K. Tackenberg: Die Bastarnen.

5) Kossinna: German. Kultur im I Jahrtausend nach Chr. p. 20.

constitution of the new tribe of Basternae should have taken place in the third century B.C.¹⁾ K. Tackenberg was the first to prove that the Face Urn people were the ancestors of the Basternae.²⁾ B. v. Richthofen agrees also with this view.³⁾ He also adds that the Skiri could have been the next most likely descendants of the Face Urn people. The German archaeologists reject the suggestion of the leading Polish archaeologist J. Kostrewski, who thinks that the Face Urn people were the ancestors of the Baltic people.⁴⁾ For my work I am accepting the hypothesis that the Basternae were the descendants of the Face Urn people. Their first historical homeland was the northern and eastern slopes of the Carpathian mountains.⁵⁾ They are first mentioned by Trogus Pompeius in 233 B.C.⁶⁾ The Greeks regarded them as 'Keltoi'. The area occupied by them stretched from the headwaters of the Vistula into Galicia and the neighboring part of Podolia. (See Map 10). About 230 B.C. they moved eastwards into the area between the Dniestr and the Carpathian Mountains, and reached the Black Sea. (See Map 11). The Basternae in the headwaters of the Vistula who did not participate in this migration were, according to Much⁷⁾ absorbed by the Skiri, who after the siege of Olbia (probably at the end of the third century B.C.) returned to their

1) Ibid.

2) K. Tackenberg: op. cit. pp. 232 - 244.

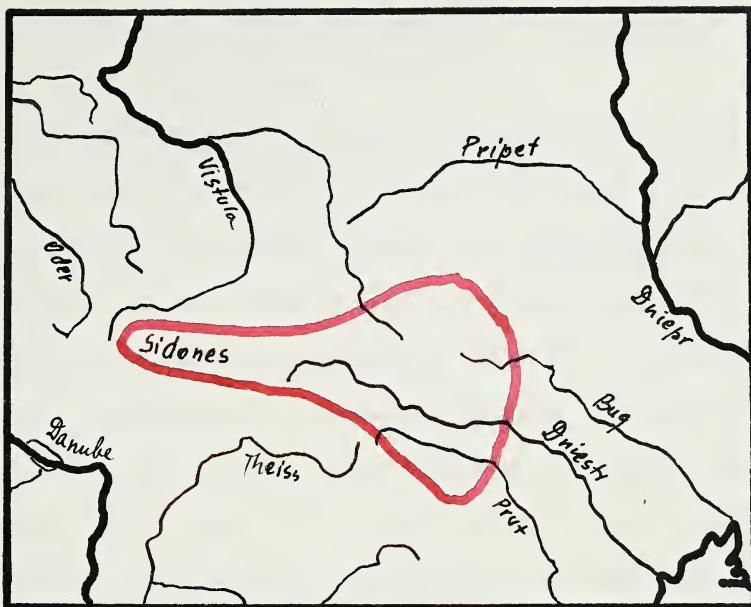
3) v. Richthofen: Zur Vorgeschichte der Ostgermanen, p. 128.

4) Ibid. p. 129.

5) Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme. Vol. I, p. 87.

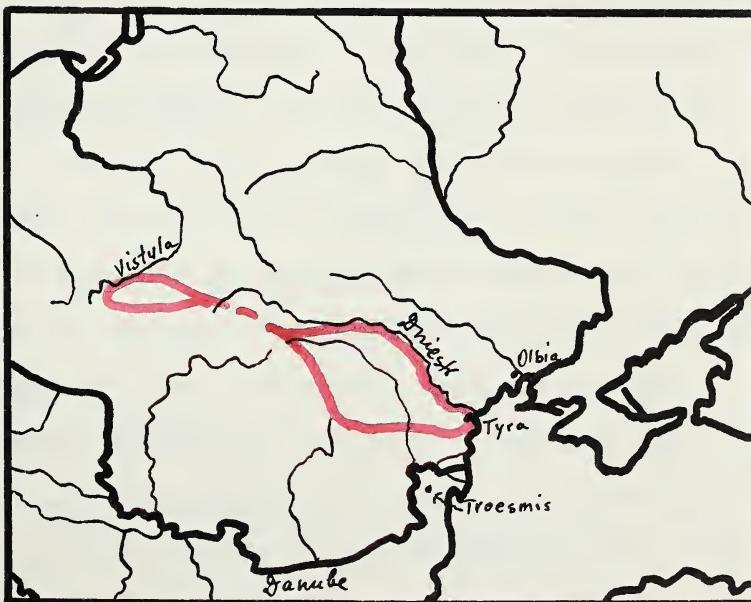
6) Ibid.

7) Much: Deutsche Stammeskunde, p. 127.



Map 10.

ca 300 - 230 B.C.



Map 11.

230 o 220 B.C.

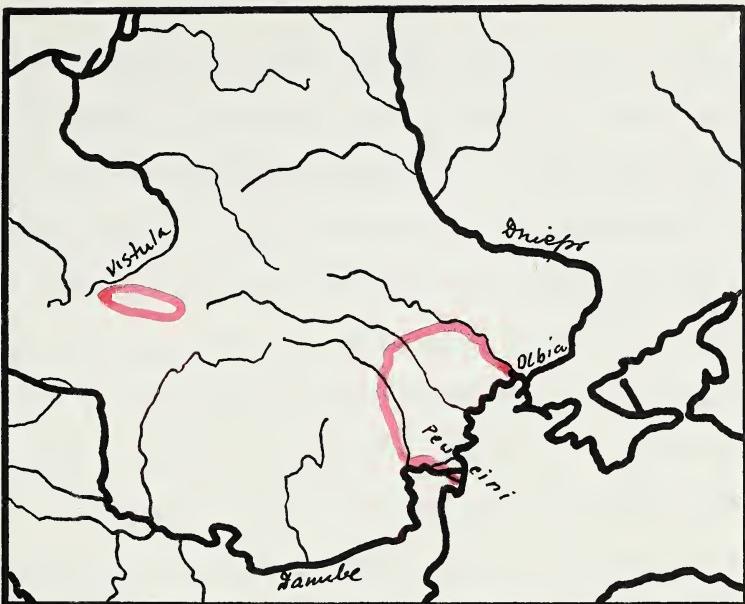
former homes east of the Upper Vistula. (See Map 78).

Plinius (50 A.D.) does not mention the Basternae in these areas but Ptolomy does (170 A.D.).

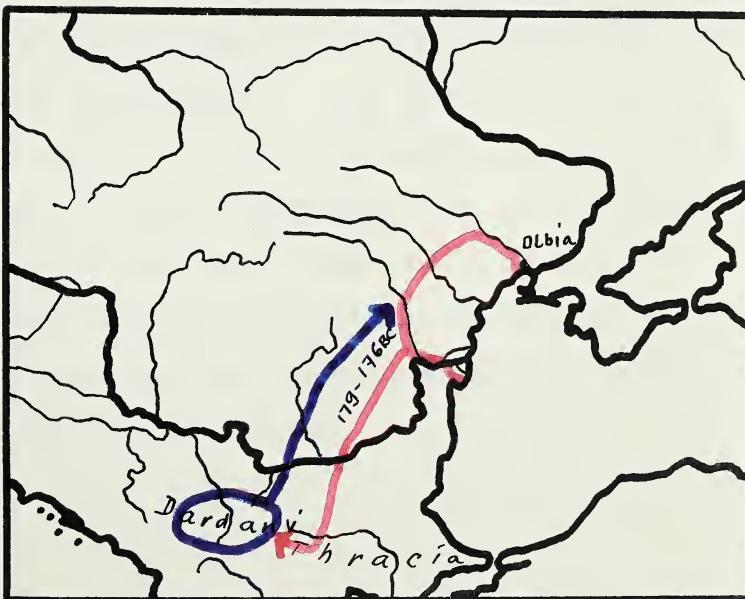
The Basternae were divided into several tribes. We know the names of three of them: the Peucini at the mouth of the Danube on George Island, the Sidones around the headwaters of the Vistula and the Waag, and the Atmonoi, whose headquarters are unknown. (See Map 10 and 12).

The Basternae attacked the Dacians south of them and forced them out of the area north of the Lower Danube. (See Map 12). Then in 220 B.C. they pushed the Sarmatae out of the area between the Dniestr and the Bug and endangered the Greek colony of Olbia at the mouth of the Bug. (See Map 13). This new power on the Lower Danube was drawn into the political struggles of these times and different parties tried to make full use of it. The Macedonian King, Philip V intended to use them as mercenary troops against the Romans. According to the treaty the Basternae were to conquer the Dardani (in modern Serbia) and later together with the Celtic Scordisci attack Upper Italy. In 179 B.C. the Basternae crossed the Danube and fought their way through Thracian territory into the land of the Dardani whom they conquered, with the consent of Philip's successor Perseus, in 176 B.C.¹⁾ (See Map 13). A part of the expedition turned back after the heavy fighting with the Thracians and it was the remaining part of the Basternae

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 89.



220 - 179 B.C.



Map 13.

red
blue

179 - 174 B.C.
176 - " "

who defeated the Dardani. But in the year 174 B.C. the Dardani rose against their conquerors, chased them out and forced them to retreat beyond the Danube. Only a small remnant managed to escape; the majority of them perished when the ice on the river broke.¹⁾ In 168 B.C. the Basternae were again ready to ally themselves with Perseus in his quarrel with the Romans, but the king found the price they demanded too high and sent them home again.²⁾ Until the end of the second century they held the Greek coast city of Istros under constant threat.³⁾ In 88 B.C. they emerged again from temporary obscurity as the best mercenary troops of Mithradates, King of Pontus, in his conflict with the Romans.⁴⁾ In 74 B.C. they distinguished themselves at the seige of the city of Chalkeron in Bithynia (Asia Minor) by the troops of Mithridates.⁵⁾ In 61 B.C. the Romans triumphed over Mithridates but still in the same year by the city of Istros the Basternae destroyed a Roman army led by the proconsul C. Antonius.⁶⁾ The rise of the power of the Dacians under their king Boirebistas meant, according to L. Schmidt⁷⁾ for the Basternae the loss of their independence. It is also known that in 55 B.C. the city of Olbia was in the hands of the Dacians, which could only mean that the Basternae had been subdued by the Dacians.⁸⁾ But after

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 89.

2) Ibid. p. 90.

3) Ibid.

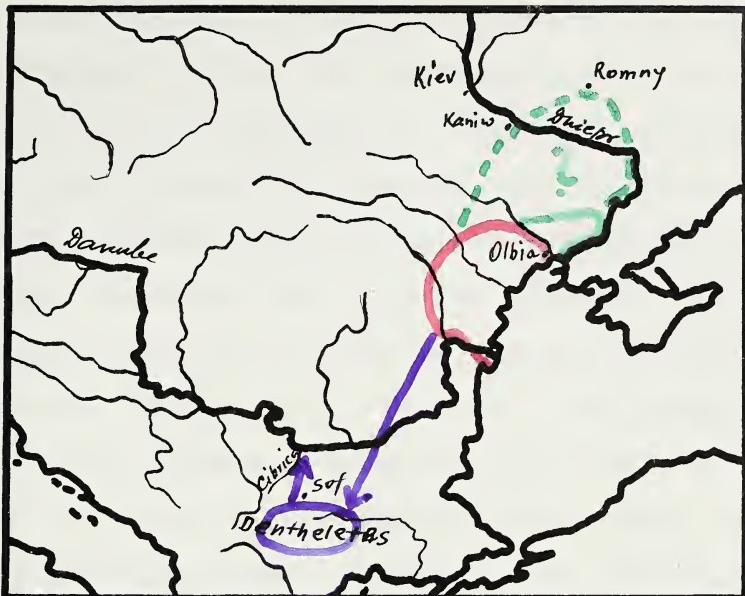
4) Ibid.

5) Ibid. p. 91.

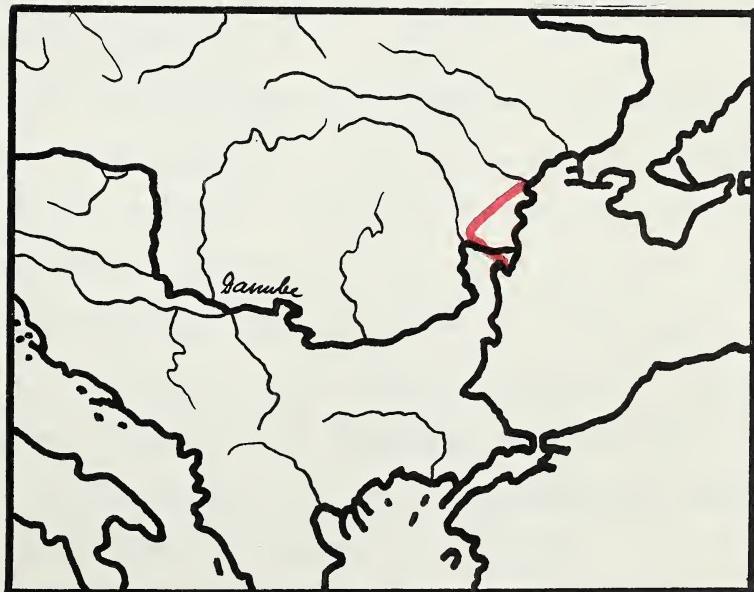
6) Ibid.

7) Ibid.

8) Ibid.



red 174 B.C. - 170 A.D.
green 0 " "
violet 45 B.C. - 29 B.C.



170 - 280 A.D.

the death of the powerful Dacian king the Basternae regained their independance in 45 B.C. and conquered the lands of the Dentheletes, allied with the Romans, in the area south of modern Sofia.¹⁾ (See Map 14). Thereupon Octavianus in 29 B.C. sent an army under the proconsul M.L. Crassus, but the Basternae, avoiding battle, retreated behind the Balkan Mountains. The Roman army, however, caught up with the Basternae by the Cibrica river and almost completely annihilated them. (See Map 14). In 28 B.C. the Basternae reappeared on the border of Macedonia, but they were again defeated by Crassus. These Roman victories kept the Basternae inactive for a long time; the Romans even took them under their protection and undertook a campaign against the Jazyges, a Sarmatian tribe, who in the middle of the first century A.D. had moved from the area north of the Black Sea westward and were pressing hard on the Basternae. This was between 63 and 66 A.D.²⁾

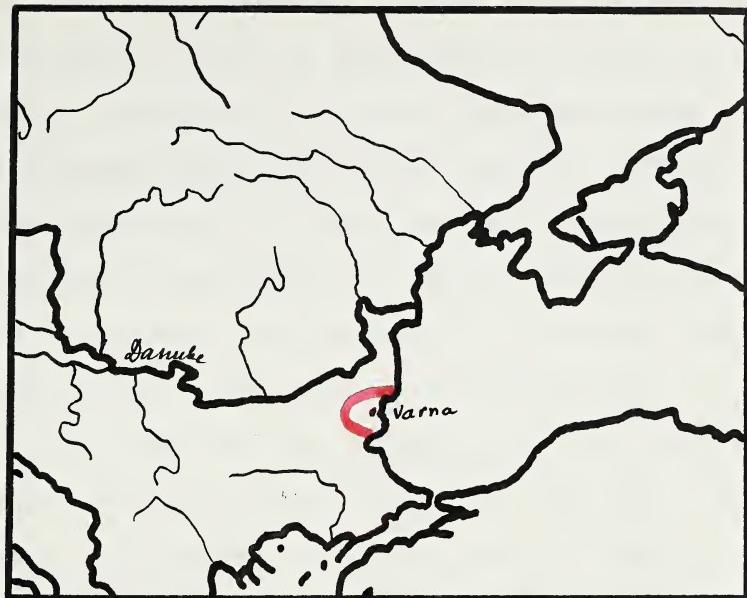
About the beginning of the present era the Basternae appear to have expanded as far as the Dniepr (See Map 14). However, the evidence for this is based upon artifacts found in Sarubinetz in the District of Kanew and in the district of Romny (See Map 14), and these Germanic wares might have reached those areas as the result of trade.³⁾ In any case the eastern tribes of the Basternae were attacked by the newly-arriving Goths, the first detachments of whom appear in the steppes of the Ukraine in 170 A.D.

1) Schmidt: op.cit. p. 91.

2) Ibid. p. 93.

3) Ibid. p. 94.

Map 16.



280 - VI.cent. A.D.

The pressure of the newly arriving Gothic tribes also caused many other peoples to leave their original places of settlement. Thus the Kostoboks, neighbors of the Basternae, passed through Thracia and Macedonia into Greece. The Basternae also at this time, that is, 170 A.D. appear in Asia Minor and that means they must have raided the territories of the Empire.¹⁾ But already by 174 A.D. the Romans had reduced the invaders to subjection and had penetrated as far as Zaleszczyki on the Dniestr.

In the long run the Basternae were not able to withstand the pressure of the Goths. In 280 A.D. they were permitted by the Emperor Probus to settle in Thrace near modern Warna. (See Map 16). They were still there in 391 A.D.²⁾, when they were punished by Stilicho for the murder of the Roman General Promotus. They must have survived in Thrace until the 6th century, for Justinian founded near Odessas (Warna) a castle named Basternai.³⁾

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 94.

2) Ibid. p. 95.

3) Ibid.

Chapter 6

THE BURGUNDIANS

All authorities are agreed about the original home-land of the Burgundians. All agree that this people came into Northeastern Germany from the Island of Bornholm. The Burgundians are mentioned for the first time in history by Pliny¹⁾ as being in Northeastern Germany. Ptolemy placed them between the Oder and the Vistula, south of the Baltic.²⁾

To this new home the Burgundians brought their special burial custom - Brandgrubenbestattung.³⁾ The migration took place about 100 B.C.⁴⁾ But although a considerable number of Burgundians must have migrated, Bornholm was by no means completely evacuated. A considerable portion of the tribe remained on the island and only joined their relatives on the mainland about 300 A.D., while the latter were moving into the areas around the Upper and Middle Main. It is only from 300 A.D. on that Bornholm was for a time practically void of population.⁵⁾

After having landed at the mouth of the Oder these mainland Burgundians first conquered those sections of the West Germanic population who were east of the Lower Oder. Then spreading south and east they reached the juncture of the Warthe with the Oder and occupied that part of Brandenburg-Neumark which lies north of the Warthe. (See Map 18).

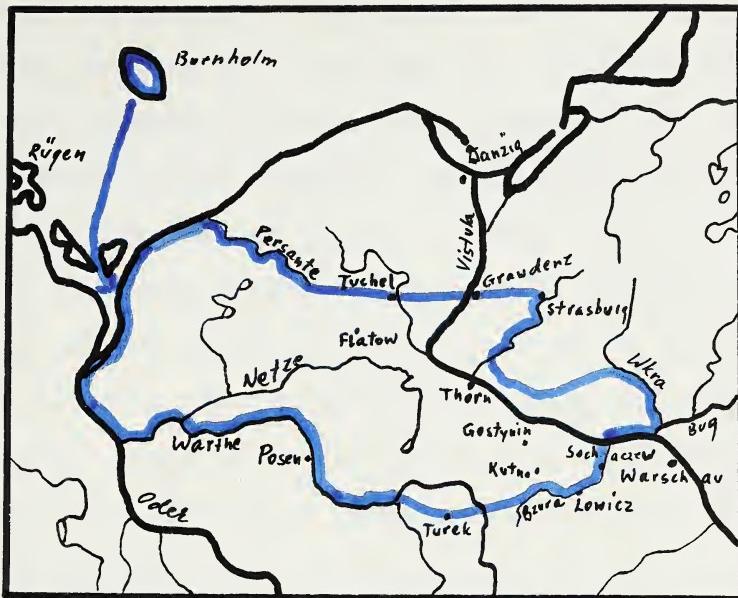
1) Pliny: Hist. nat. IV, 28.

2) Hoops: Reallexikon der German. Altertum. V. I, p. 357.

3) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 129.

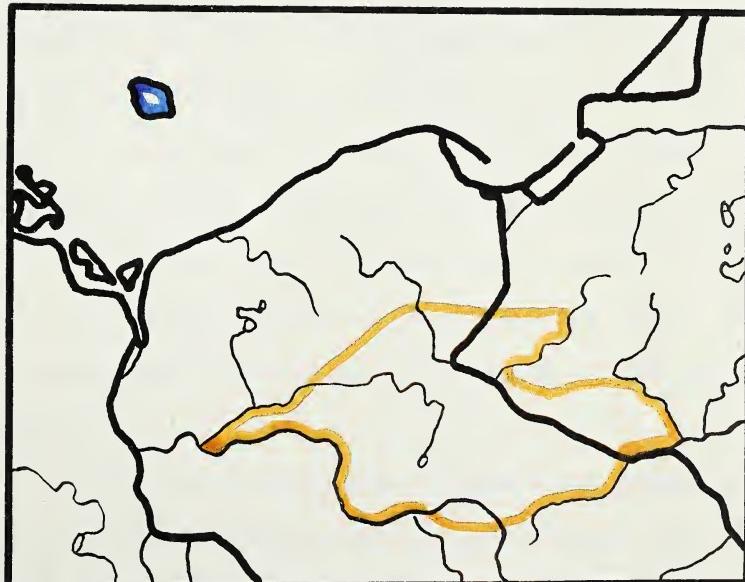
4) Ibid. p. 83.

5) Nerman: op. cit. p. 61.



Map 17.

100 B.C. - 0



Map 18.

blue
orange

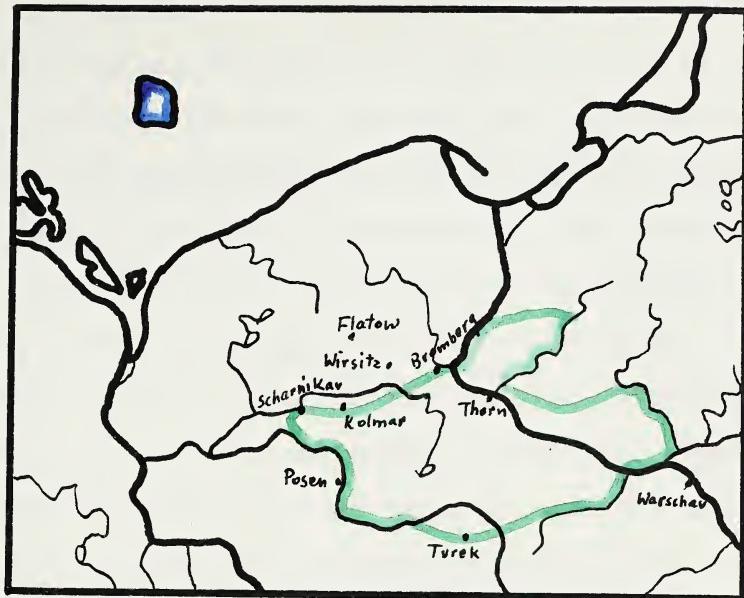
0 - 300 A.D.
" - 125 "

Then turning east they moved up the Warthe into the area around the sources of the Netze, where they formed quite a dense settlement. (See Map 17). Crossing the Vistula between Graudenz and Thorn they pushed as far east as Strasburg in East Prussia. To the north they extended as far as Flatow and Tuchel. In the south the border ran along the Lower Warthe to the district around Turek and along the Bzura until it turns east in its lower course. (See Map 17). The Burgundians occupied the districts of Gostynin, Kutno and even extended as far as Lowicz and Sochaczew on the Lower Bzura. From the juncture of the Bzura with the Vistula the line ran up the latter to the juncture of the Bzura and the Wkra (or Dzialdowka). The lower Wkra then constituted the border which followed fairly closely the right bank of the Vistula down to Thorn, from where it turned to the above-mentioned Strasburg.¹⁾ (See Map 17). This eastward penetration of the Burgundians brought them into conflict with the Vandals, who were forced to give ground. The Burgundians wedge, penetrating almost as far as Warsaw, cut the Vandal territory into two parts, Most of the Vandals retreated south except for a small pocket in West Masuria which remained in the north cut off from the main body. (See also under the Vandals).

In these new areas the Burgundians remained undisturbed until the beginning of the present era. The coming of the Goths, who landed at the mouth of the Vistula,

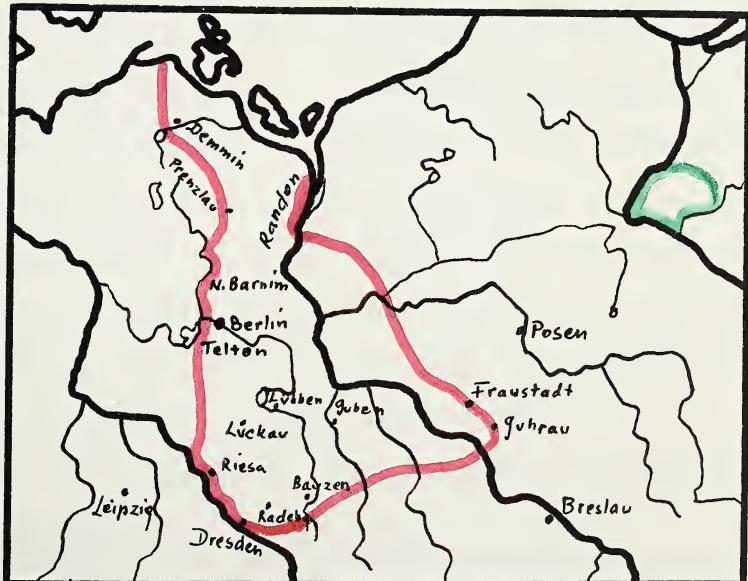
1) Kossinna: German. Kultur im I.Jahrtausend nach Chr. pp. 210, 211 and 202.

Map 19.



125 - 175 A.D.

Map 20.



green
red

175 - 250 A.D.
" - 300 "

affected the Burgundians also, although indirectly. The central section of the Rugians occupying the Baltic shore at the time of the arrival of the Goths had to give ground and move westward into the area west of the Persante, which forced the Burgundians to move to the east between the Warthe and the Netze. (See Map 18). Now a new assault came from the north, this time by that portion of the Goths later known as Gepidae, who at the beginning of the 2nd century were in possession of the area of the Middle Netze, that is, the districts of Bromberg, Scharnikau, Wirsitz and Kolmar.¹⁾ (See Map 19). (See also under the Goths). The Burgundians were forced to retreat to the west. This new migration began about the middle of the 2nd century and continued until the end of the century.²⁾ A small section of the Burgundians, who east of the big bend of the Lower Vistula, were not subjected to the Gothic attack, remained in this area until 250 A.D. At this time they were overrun by the Gepidae who in their migration southeast had to cross these Burgundian territories. (See also under the Gepidae). (See Map 20). The remainder of these Burgundians fled southeast and settled finally in the area around the mouth of the Don.³⁾ (See Map 22). In 290 A.D. they were attacked by the Ostrogoths and probably annihilated.⁴⁾

In the meantime the main body of the Burgundians

1) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 238.

2) Ibid. p. 222 and Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme. Vol I, p. 130.

3) Schmidt: Ibid. p. 210.

4) Ibid. p. 131.

moved into Brandenburg. (See Map 20). They forced the Vandals out of part of this area, Niederlausitz, Brandenburg-Neumark and Northern Silesia, the Vandals retreating eastward.¹⁾ Occupying these new areas the Burgundians exerted pressure on the Seponnes who in turn crowded their western and southern neighbors, and the restlessness started by this movement resulted in the outbreak of the Marcomannic War. Opinion is divided as to how long the Burgundians remained in these new territories. According to Nerman²⁾ they remained until 300 A.D., according to Kossinna³⁾ they were still there in the 4th century, according to Schmidt⁴⁾ throughout the first half of the 3rd century only. The view of Nerman is here accepted.

The next move of the Burgundians brought them to the Upper and Middle Main. (See Map 21). They were reinforced by their relatives from Bornholm who joined them at this time, as mentioned above. (See Map 23). These lands had been occupied by the Alemanni up to 260 A.D. when they broke through the Limes into the agri decumates and settled there.⁵⁾ A section of the Burgundians managed to penetrate behind the Limes and maintain a foothold there for a short time, but as the result of conflict with the Empire and the Alemanni they were eventually forced to retreat again.⁶⁾ From this time dates the animosity between

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 130 and Kossinna: op. cit. pp. 188 and 222.

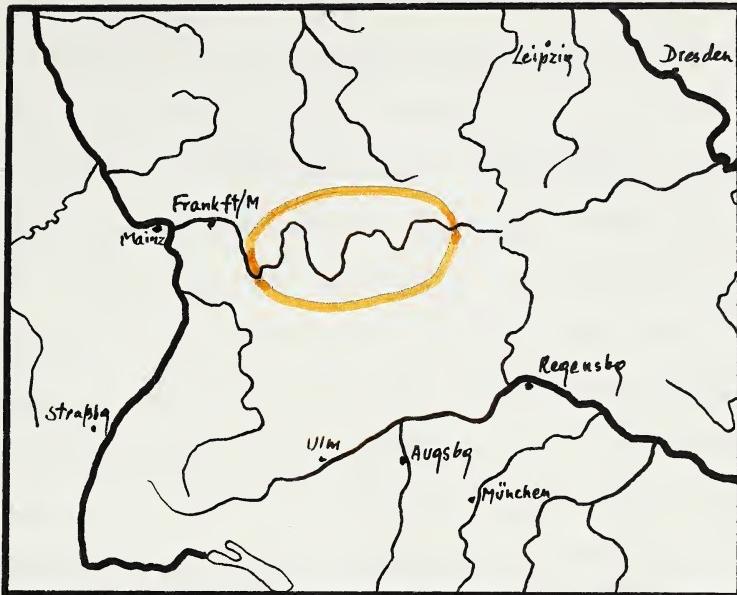
2) Nerman: op. cit. p. 61.

3) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 222.

4) Schmidt: op. cit. 130.

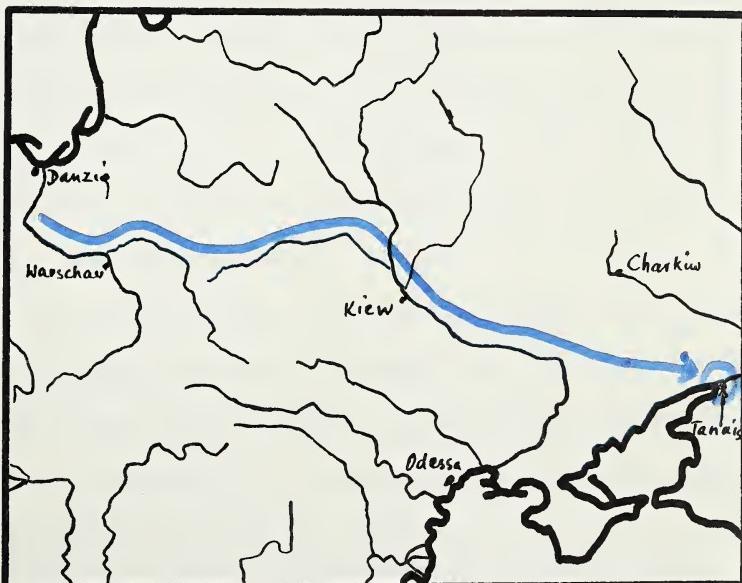
5) Ibid. p. 131.

6) Ibid. p. 132 and Kossinna: op. cit. p. 222.



Map 21.

300 - 370 A.D.



Map 22.

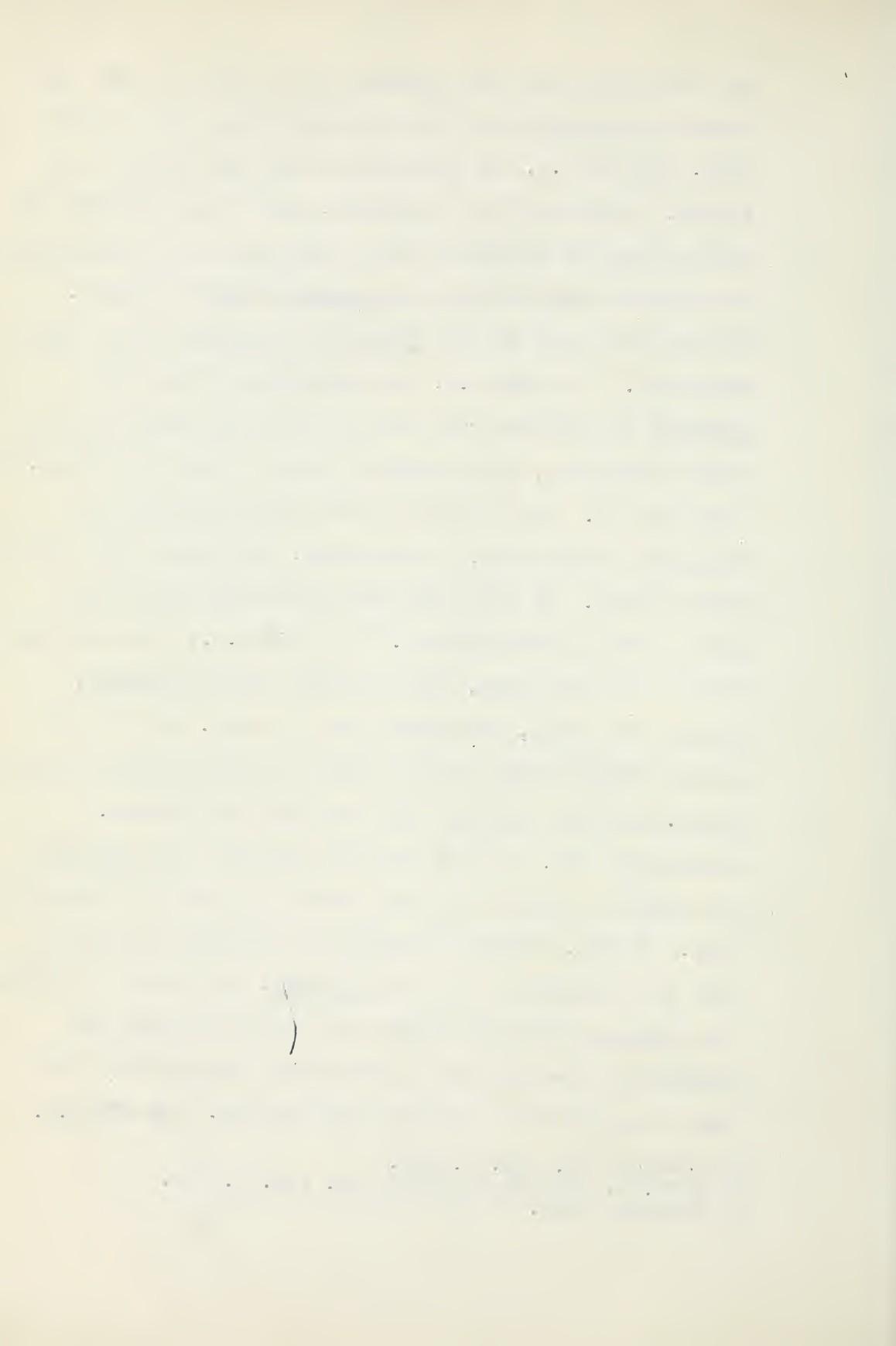
250 - 290 A.D.

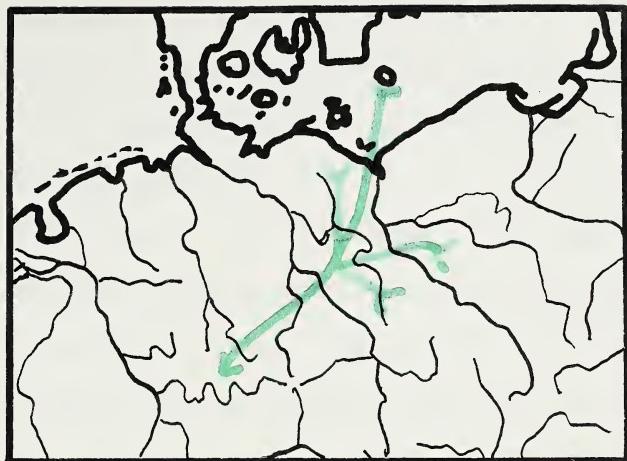
the Burgundians and the Alemanni, due perhaps to the fact that the Alemanni barred to the Burgundians the way into Gaul. In 370 A.D. the Burgundians must have been on the Kocher, a tributary of the Neckar, and it was probably the salt-springs at Schwäbisch Hall (See Map 24) for possession of which the Burgundians and Alemanni fought bitterly. In the north they had the Chatti as neighbors in the Rhön Mountains.¹⁾ In 400 A.D. the Burgundians forced the Alemanni to evacuate the lands between the Neckar and the Taunus Mountains, which enabled them to reach the Rhine.²⁾ (See Map 24). They can be traced archaeologically at Frankfort on the Main, at Wiesbaden, Heidelberg and various other places. At this time they were converted to the Arian creed of Christianity.³⁾ In 406 A.D., following the Vandals and the Alans, they, as well as the Alemanni, crossed the Rhine, devastating and looting. All the important Middle Rhine cities, such as, Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg were besieged and taken by the invaders. Constantius III, a rival Emperor, defeated them once but was unable to drive them back beyond the Rhine or to destroy them. He did, however, succeed in concluding treaties with the Burgundians and the Alemanni, as a result of which the Alemanni retreated beyond the Rhine again and the Burgundians were settled in the Rhine cities on the left bank as garrisons to protect the frontier. In 411 A.D.

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 132.

2) Ibid. p. 133 and Kossinna: op. cit. p. 222.

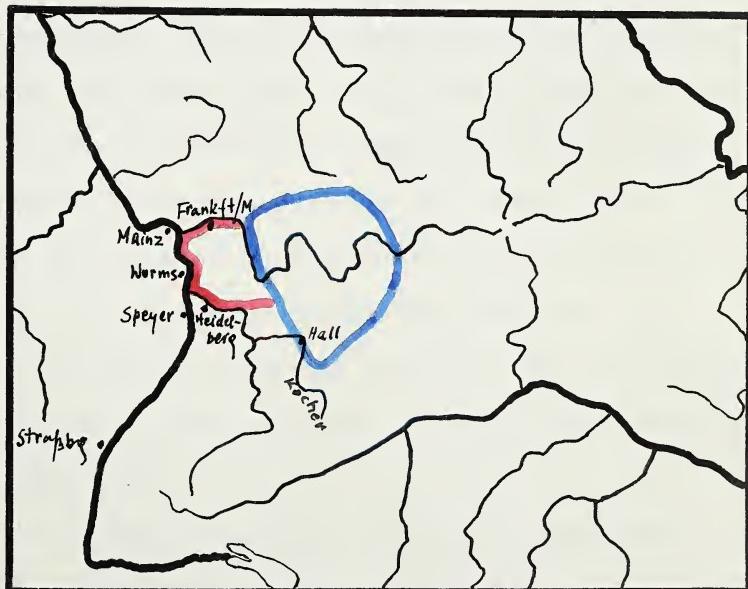
3) Kossina: ibid.





Map 23.

ca 300 A.D.



Map 24.

blue
red

370 - 411/13 A.D.
400 - "

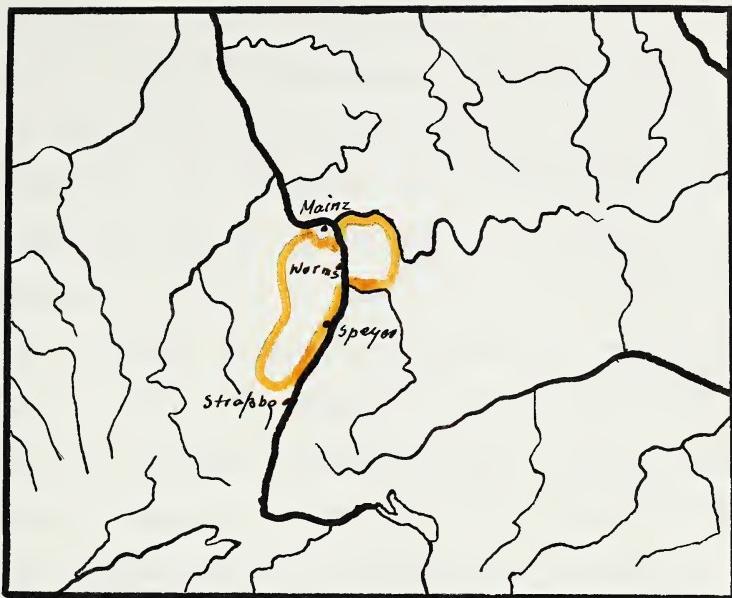
the Burgundians helped to proclaim Jovinus as emperor and obtained from him the land in the northern part of Germania I (or superior). Later (in 413 A.D.) the Emperor Honorius confirmed the Burgundians in the possession of their lands.¹⁾ The Burgundian king at this time was Gundahar of Niebelungen memory.

By crossing to the left bank of the Rhine, however, the Burgundians did not completely evacuate their former lands on the right bank of the river. In their newly acquired lands Worms and Speyer were the principal cities. Mainz still remained in the hands of the Romans. (See Map 25). In order to enlarge his territories Gundahar in 435 A.D. undertook a raid into Belgica I, but was defeated by Aetius and forced to retreat. The next year, 436 A.D., Aetius sent some of his auxiliary Hunnish troops against the Burgundians. Then took place the great battle which later became the subject matter of the Niebelungen Saga. Gundahar with 20,000 of his men fell in the battle. The disaster, however, affected only that part of the tribe which was settled on the left bank of the Rhine. (See Map 26). In 443 A.D. Aetius settled the remainder of the Burgundians in Sapaudia (modern Savoie). But the Burgundians on the right bank remained and were still there in 524 A.D. (See Map 27).²⁾

The Burgundians who had been transplanted by Aetius at first occupied the lands between the Lake of Geneva, the highest ridges of the Mont Blanc Massif, the Upper Isere

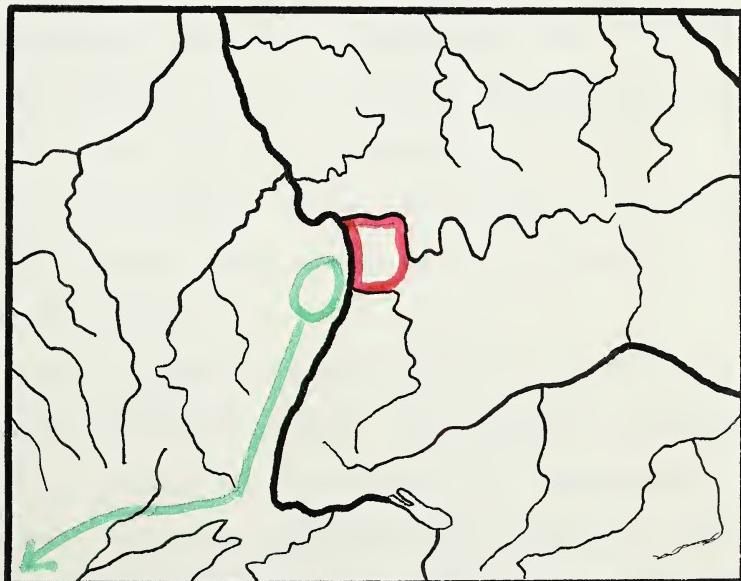
1) Schmidt: Germanische Frühzeit, p. 259.

2) Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme. Vol. I, p. 164 (Godomar's Law).



Map 25.

413 - 436 A.D.

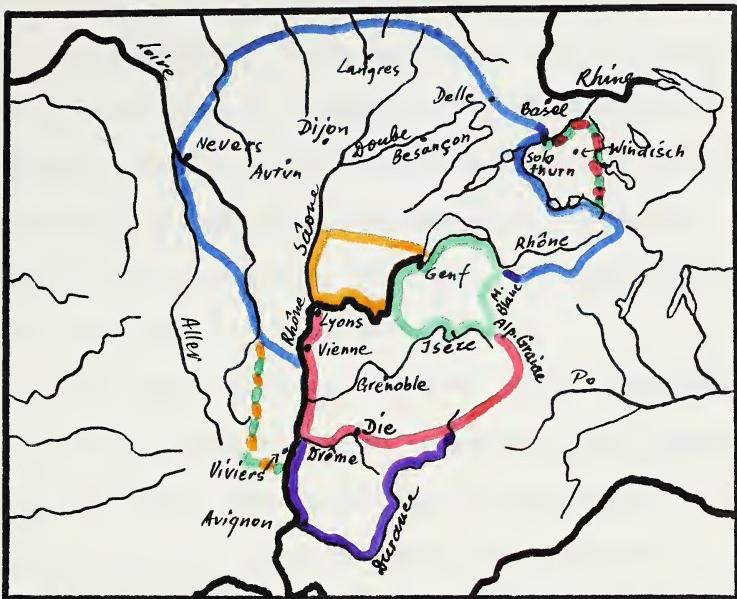


Map 26.

red 436 - VI. cent. A.D.
green " - 443 "

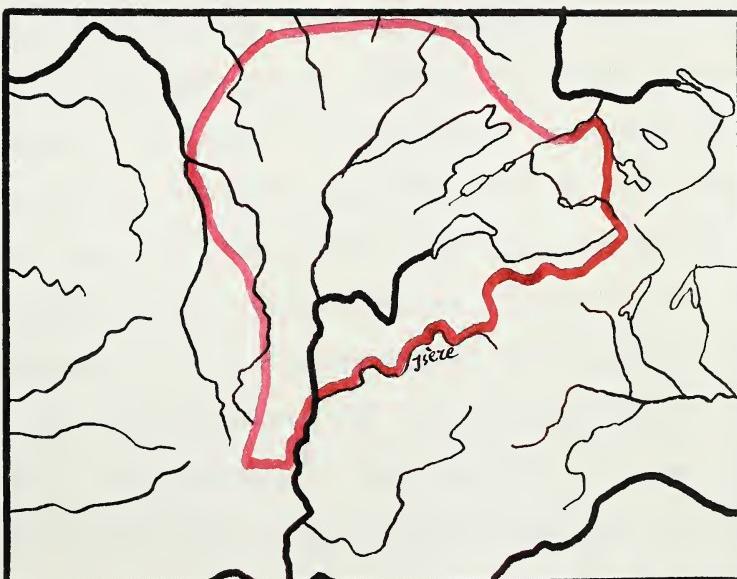
and the Rhone from the Lake of Geneva to where it turns to the west. This was the northeastern part of the Roman province of Gallia riparensis (or Viennensis). The main cities were Geneva (the capital), Villeneuve and Grenoble. (See Map 27). In 451 A.D. these Burgundians rendered obedience to Rome as foederati by sending a considerable contingent of troops to the allied army which fought against Attila. In this battle the Burgundians suffered heavy losses. In 456 A.D. Burgundian troops accompanied the Roman and Visigothic armies in their campaign against the Swabians in Spain. In 457 A.D. the Burgundian king Gundowech annexed the adjacent parts of Lugunensis I and after a siege took the city of Lugdunum (modern Lyons). (See Map 27). Although the Emperor reconquered the city in the next year, the imperial garrison was confined within the walls. In 461 A.D. the city itself again fell to the Burgundians, this time permanently, the city becoming their capital. In 471 A.D. the Burgundians warded off the Visigoths who were attempting to settle on the left bank of the Rhone. After this success the Burgundians extended their possessions to the area north of the Durance. (See Map 27).

The Burgundian state achieved its greatest power under its next king Chilperich. In 470 A.D. the Burgundians were in possession of the whole of Lugdunensis I. (See Map 27). The city of Nevers was already at this time in their hands. In 480 A.D. the city of Langres lies within the Burgundian territory. (See Map 27). In the second



Map 27.

green	443 - 523 A.D.
orange	457 - " "
red	463 - " "
violet	471 - " "
blue	480 - " "
red/green	502 - " "
orange/green	507 - " "



Map 28.

523 - 530 A.D.

half of the 5th century A.D. they also annexed a large part of Maxima Sequanorum, driving out their hereditary foes, the Alemanni. (See Map 27). The frontier with the Alemanni ran along the Upper and Middle Aare to around Solothurn. North of this place Burgundian artifacts found in Önsingen, Courfaivre, Bassecourt, Courgenay, Delle, Herimoncourt, Allenloie, Bourogne show the approximate lines of the frontier.¹⁾ (See Map 27).

During the reign of the next king, Gundobad, who before becoming king had been a magister militum in the West Roman army, the Burgundian power began to decline, although we still witness some new acquisition of territory. In 500 A.D. a plot was made between Chlodeweich, king of the Franks and Godisigel, brother of Gundobad, to place Godosigel on the throne in return for a portion of Burgundian territory. During a battle between the Burgundians and the Franks Godisigel carried out his treacherous plan by deserting to the enemy. Gundobad succeeded in escaping to Avignon. The Franks, regarding the war as already won, withdrew, leaving about 5,000 troops of those which were in Vienne with Godigisel. In the meantime Gundobad obtained help from the Visigoths, and with this assistance he was able to defeat Godisigel and his Franks. The Visigoths obtained for this help the City of Avignon from the Burgundians.²⁾ (See Map 27). Instead of allying himself with the Goths, however, Gundobad came to an under-

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 146.

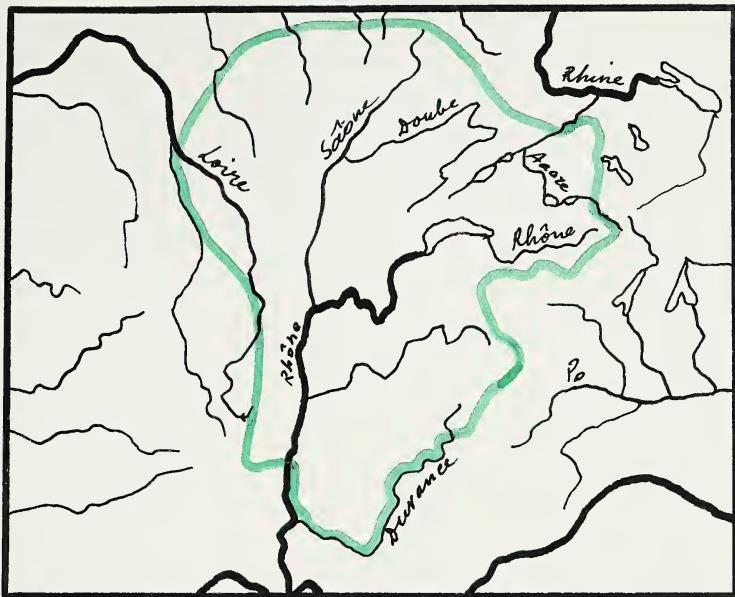
2) Ibid. p. 152.

standing with the Franks, for the purpose of the annexation of the southern part of Provence. In 502 A.D. the Franks with Burgundian help attacked the Alemanni and only the intervention of Theodoric the Great, the Ostrogothic king, who had taken part of the tribe inhabiting Raetia under his protection, checked the invasion. However, the district of Windisch in modern Aargau between the Aare and the Reuss (See Map 27) came under Burgundian control, and the Franks occupied the district of Basel. In 507 A.D. when war broke out between the Visigoths and the Franks the Burgundians were quite openly on the side of the Franks. They took an active part in the battle of Vougle'; they besieged and stormed Narbonne. But in 508 A.D. the Ostrogoths joined the Visigoths in a sudden raid over the pass of Mont Genevre deep into Burgundian territory. The Burgundians, left in the lurch by the Franks, were forced to retreat from their new acquisitions and hastily evacuated Southern Provence.¹⁾ The only gain they managed to retain was a part of the Viennensis territory on the right bank of the Rhone around the city of Viviers. (See Map 27). Before this enforced retreat the Burgundians had attained their greatest territorial expansion. This included the whole province of Gallia Lugdunensis I, a large part of Maxima Sequanorum, the whole northern part of Viennensis, Alpes Graiae, Alpes Maritimae and Narbonensis II north of the Durance.²⁾ (See Map 27).

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 158.

2) Ibid. p. 169.

Continuous quarrels, however, between the Orthodox Catholics and the heretical Arians were gradually weakening the state. In 522 A.D. king Sigismund contrived the murder of the son of his first wife, who was the daughter of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. As the Ostrogoths were preparing for war, the Frankish kings, Chlodomer, Childebert and Chlotachar fell upon the Burgundians in 523 A.D. The latter were defeated; Sigismund was taken prisoner, his brother Godomar escaping. As the Franks advanced from the North, along with the auxiliary troops from the Gepidae, the Ostrogoths moved in from the south, occupying the land as far as the Isère river. (See Map 28). But as soon as the Frankish kings had left for home, the Burgundians under Godomar rallied again and in 524 A.D. drove out the Frankish occupational forces. Thereupon Chlodomer, after murdering Sigismund and his family, again attacked the Burgundians in alliance with Theuderich, another Frankish king. In the resulting battle, which took place in the area east of Vienne, Chodomer fell and the Franks, after having made a treaty, retreated. In 530 A.D. Godomar succeeded in arranging with the Ostrogoths for the return of the former Burgundian territories north of the Durance. (See Map 29). Hostilities, however, broke out again in 532 A.D. between the Burgundians and the Franks under Chlotachar and Childebert, and this time the Ostrogoths remained passive. In an attempt to come to the rescue of the besieged city of Autun Godomar was completely de-



Map 29

530 - 532/4 A.D.

feated. The final division of the Burgundian lands among the Franks took place in 534 A.D.¹⁾

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 165.

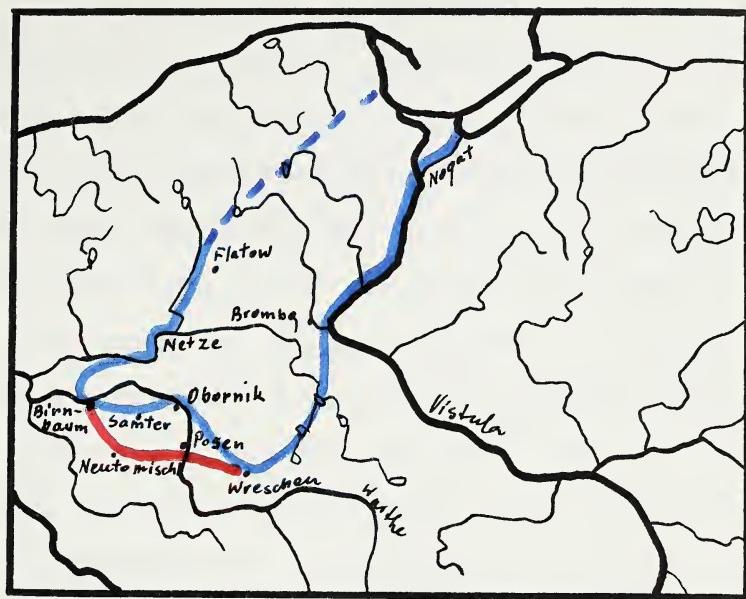
THE GEPIDAE

It is only in the 3rd century that we can speak of the separate tribe called the Gepidae.¹⁾ The migration of the Goths started about 150 A.D., but not as a single movement. It is only about 170 A.D. that the first Gothic migrants appeared in the Southern Ukraine. By the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. their consolidation there had been completed. The branch which later developed into the Gepidae extended further south at the expense of the Burgundians who were forced to retreat. During the remaining part of the 2nd century these Goths occupied Burgundian territory as far south as the districts of Birnbaum, Samter, Obornik and even as far as Wreschen in the southeast.²⁾ (See Map 30). The bulk of the Burgundians gave way and retreated westwards at the end of the 2nd century. Only a very small pocket of them remained in the area east of the bend of the Vistula. These Burgundians remained here until about 250 A.D.

The furthest extension of the Gepidae in the south was as far as Neutomischl, Posen and Wreschen. (See Map 30). Their first migration took place about 250 A.D. At this time about one third of the tribe, probably the most northern, emigrated into Galicia, Bukowina and the most northern part of Siebenbürgen. (See Map 31). It was about the same time that these areas had been evacuated

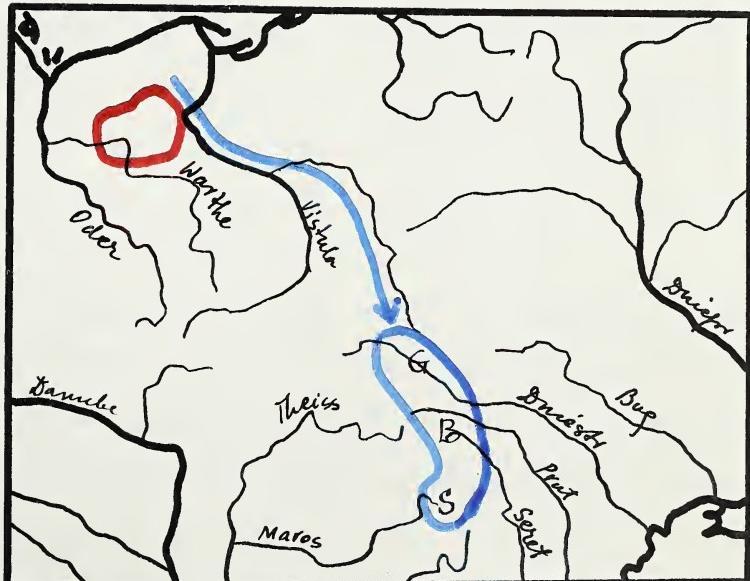
1) Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme, V. I, p. 529.

2) Kossinna: German. Kultur im I. Jahrtausend n. Chr. p. 238.



Map 30.

blue
red 0 - 250 A.D.
 200 - " "



Map 31.

red and blue 250 - 325 A.D.

by the Vandals.¹⁾ The Gepidae were led by their ambitious king Fastida.²⁾ Right at the beginning the Gepidae had to deal with a pocket of Burgundians in the bend of the Vistula. The Burgundians, however, were almost annihilated, only a few of them managing to escape by migrating south-east where they joined the Goths in the Ukraine and settled down in the area around the mouth of the Don.³⁾ (See Map 22).

The remaining Gepidae remained in Poland for several decades longer and only joined the Gepidae of Fastida at the beginning of the 4th century.⁴⁾ But they were prevented from occupying the south of the Siebenbürgen district by the Visigoths who in 260 A.D. had occupied this land. This cut the Gepidae off from Roman territory and also denied them the possibility of extending their territory. In 269 A.D. they participated in the big raid of Goths, Heruli and Basternae into Moesia which ended in defeat at the battle of Naissus. In 290 A.D. they allied themselves with the Vandals in order to drive the Visigoths out of the southern Siebenbürgen district. But the Visigoths, allied with the Taifali, repelled the attack and Fastida's army and the Vandals had to retreat.⁵⁾

We hear very little about the Gepidae during the 4th century. After the Visigoths under Alavivus and Frithigern crossed the Danube in 376 A.D. and moved into imperial territories, the Gepidae probably spread into the

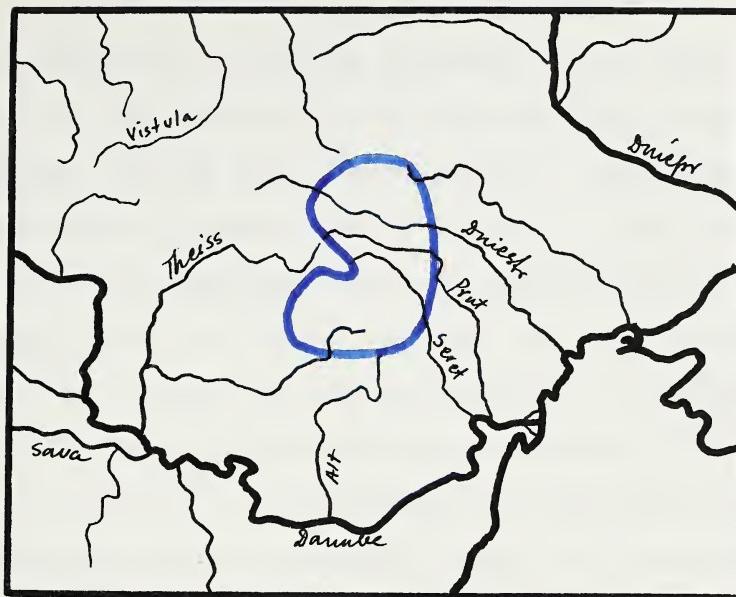
1) Kossinnat op. cit. p. 238.

2) Ibid.

3) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 130.

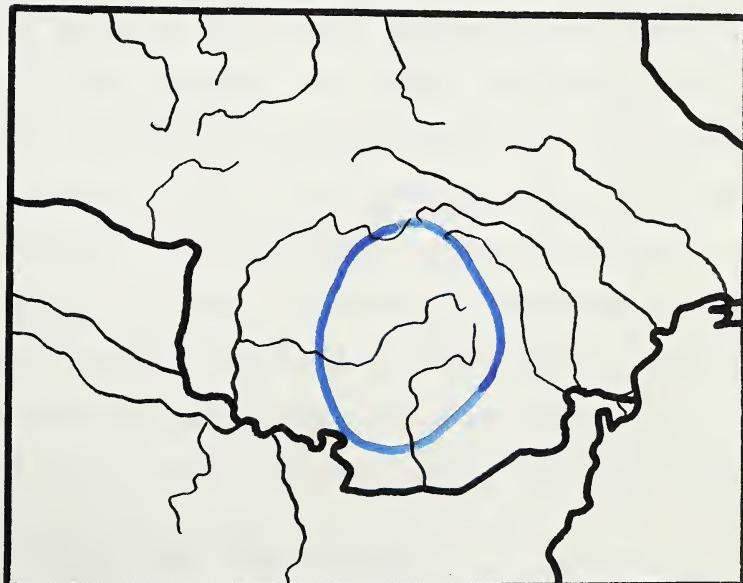
4) Nerman: Die Herkunft und die frühesten Auswanderungen der Germanen, p. 51.

5) Kossinna: op. cit. 240.



Map 32.

325 - 376 A.D.



Map 33.

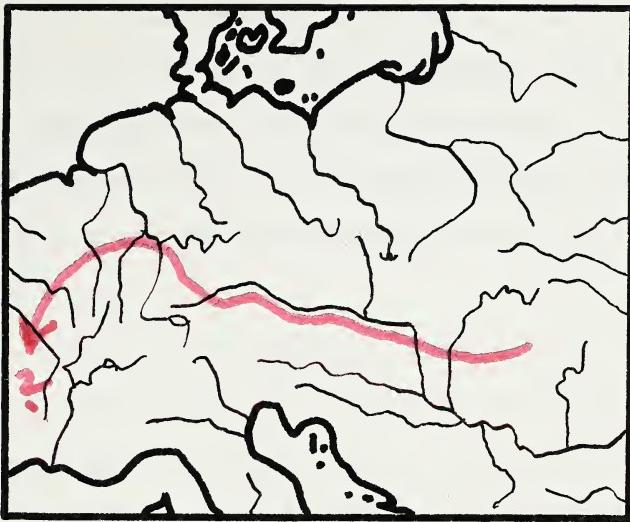
376 - 453 A.D.

southern parts of the province of Dacia abandonned by the Goths.¹⁾ (See Map 33). At that time everyone was too much preoccupied with the movements of the Huns and the Goths to take much notice of the relatively unimportant Gepidae. In 406 A.D. a detachment of the Gepidae joined the Vandals in their raid on the West. After crossing the Rhine the Gepidae remained somewhere in Gaul (Map 34) as foederati of the Romans. It was they, who in 455 A.D. repelled an attack of the Burgundians.²⁾ The Gepidae in Dacia did not come under the domination of the Huns until 418 A.D.³⁾ At this time they were defeated by the Ostrogoths under Thorismund, acting as auxiliaries of the Huns. After their defeat they were forced to supply the Hunnish army with auxiliary troops also, and as such they played a very important role: thus they fought together with the Huns against the Eastern Empire in 447 -49 A.D., and again in 451 A.D. a large contingent of them accompanied Attila into France. But it was they who first revolted against the sons of Attila in 453 A.D. The revolt, started by Ardarich, king of the Gepidae, was soon joined by the Ostrogoths (?), the Heruli, Swebians, Rugians, Skiri, Sarmatae and Alans, and brought about the collapse of the Hunnish Empire. Because of their leading role in this insurrection the Gepidae occupied after the victory the best of the former Hunnish lands, the areas between the

1) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 240.

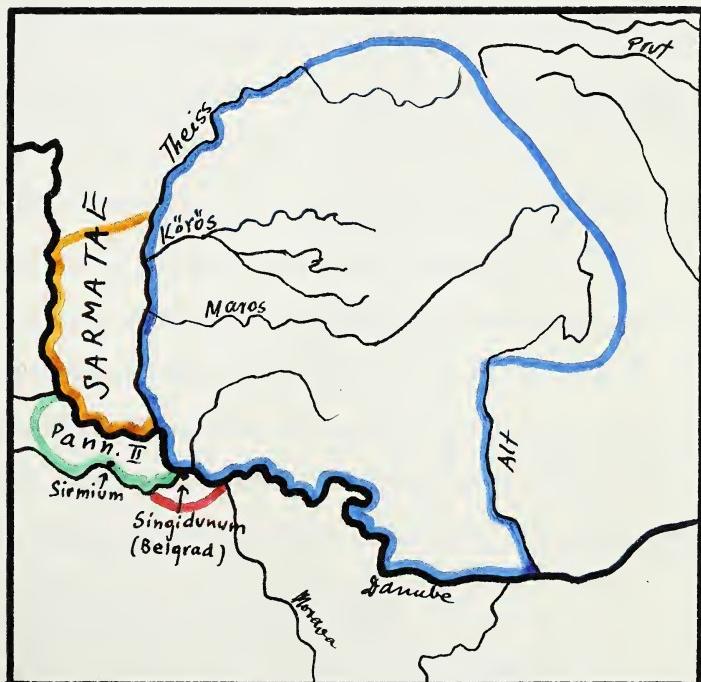
2) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 531.

3) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 240.



Map 34.

406 - 455 (?) A.D.



Map 35.

blue	453	-	504	A.D.
orange	472	-	"	"
green	473	-	"	"
red	488	-	"	"



Danube, the Theiss, the Alt and the Carpathian Mountains,¹⁾ (See Map 35), that is: the province of Siebenbürgen, Little Walachia, Banat, Crisana and Maramures. Shortly after this the Gepidae must have been converted to the Arian creed of Christianity. The Eastern Empire concluded a treaty with them and friendly relations existed until 536 A.D.²⁾

The hatred of the Gepidae, however, for the Ostrogoths, who after 453 A.D. settled in Pannonia, continued. Thus the Gepidae willingly participated in the coalition of 469 A.D. against the Ostrogoths, which however ended in a defeat for the allies. It is only in 471 A.D. that the Gepidae are freed from the constant threat of the Ostrogoths after the latter left Pannonia in that year to move into the Balkan Peninsula. According to Kossinna³⁾ the Gepidae occupied the lands of the Sarmatae in 472 A.D., that is, the area between the Danube and the Theiss.

Schmidt, however,⁴⁾ disagrees with this statement. The opinion of Kossinna is here accepted. The colonization of this new area by the Gepidae themselves was, however, as Kossinna thinks not very extensive.⁵⁾ In 473 A.D. the Gepidae occupied the major part of Pannonia lying between the Danube and the Sava, including the strategically important fortified city of Sirmium (modern Mitrovica).

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 532.

2) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 241.

3) Ibid.

4) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 533, foot note 2.

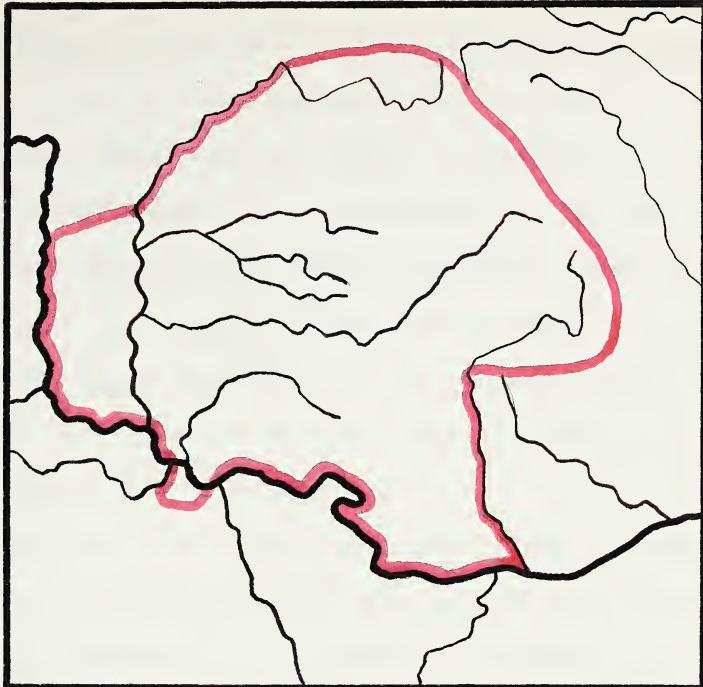
5) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 241.

(See Map 35). When Theodoric the Great marched to Italy with his Ostrogoths in 488 A.D. he was bitterly opposed by the Gepidae who barred his passage on the Roman military road that passed through Sirmium. The Gepidae, however, had to give way, but they reoccupied Sirmium immediately after the Ostrogoths had passed on. Schmidt thinks that at the same time the Gepidae also occupied the area around the city of Singidunum (modern Belgrade).¹⁾ (See Map 35). Other authorities do not mention this. Schmidt's view is here accepted. The Gepidae remained in these territories until 504 A.D. At that time an Ostrogothic army sent out by Theodoric drove them behind the Danube, and this part of Pannonia was then occupied by the Ostrogoths until 536 A.D. (with the exception of a small beachhead around the city of Bassiana which was still under the control of the Eastern Emperor.) (See Map 36). The Gepidae who had been taken prisoners or who had remained in these territories occupied by the Ostrogoths were sent into southeastern Gaul in 536 A.D. where they were settled as frontier guards. (See Map 38). Here they remained faithful to the Ostrogoths to the very end and perished with the latter in 555 A.D.²⁾

Meanwhile the Gepidae behind the Danube tried to penetrate again into Pannonia in 530 A.D. but were again repelled by the Ostrogoths. However, in 536 A.D. during the war between the Ostrogoths and the Eastern Empire

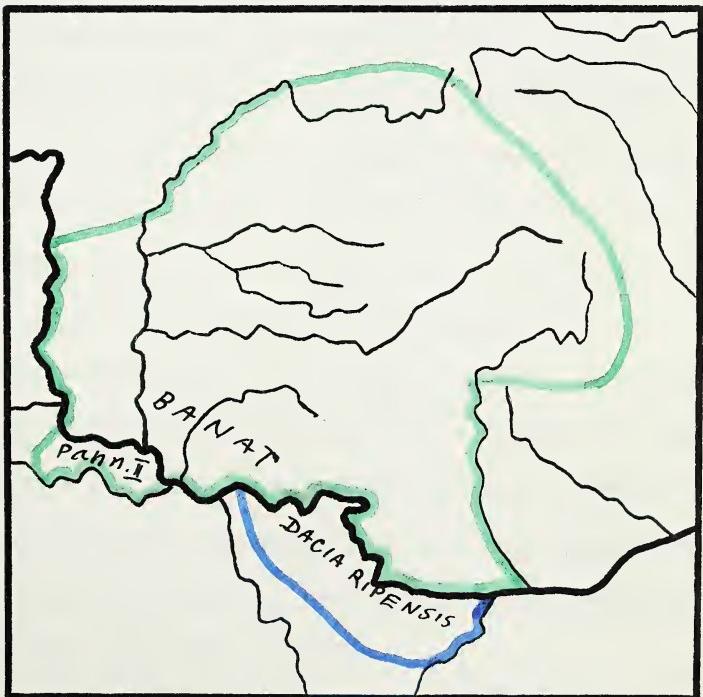
1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 533.

2) Ibid. p. 534.



Map 36.

504 - 536 A.D.



Map 37.

blue
green

536 - 567 A.D.
539 - 552 "

the Gepidae succeeded in taking Pannonia II, also Sirmium, from which they expelled the Ostrogoths. (See Map 37). They were however, forced to retreat from the area around Singidunum which was annexed to the Empire and where the Heruli were now transplanted. (See Map 51). In 539 A.D. the Gepidae defeated an imperial army in a raid into Dacia repensis (or Aureliana), and thereupon occupied the greater part of this province, holding it until 552 A.D.¹⁾ (See Map 37).

But now a new danger for the Gepidae emerged from the west. The Langobards, who in 505 A.D. destroyed the Herulian state and occupied their territories kept growing steadily in power. The relationship between the Gepidae and the Langobards was at first quite friendly. The Gepidae, it is true, allowed the remnants of the Heruli to settle to the south of their territory, but treated them so badly that the latter preferred to pass under Roman protection or migrate back to the Scandinavian homeland (as will be described under the Heruli). The Langobardian king married one of the princesses of the Gepidae.²⁾ In 546 A.D. the Emperor granted the Langobards permission to occupy Pannonia I and Noricum (both of which were only nominally under his control). (See Map 58). This was probably done in order to create antagonism between the Gepidae and the Langobards. The latter would now naturally try to get possession also of

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 536.

2) Ibid. p. 535.

Pannonia II which was occupied by the Gepidae and who thus barred to the Langobards the road into Italy and the Balkan Peninsula. The scheme worked. The outbreak of war was hastened by the fact that the legitimate candidate for the throne of the Langobards, Hildigis, had taken refuge among the Gepidae when Wacho usurped the kingship.¹⁾ This was in 547 A.D. The Langobards allied themselves with the Emperor who sent a corps of 10,000 cavalry and 1,500 auxiliary Herulian troops, who adhered to the orthodox creed. Before joining the Langobards these imperial troops staged an attack on 3,000 Arian Heruli who were allied with the Gepidae. The next clash took place in 549 A.D., but neither side was able to win a decisive victory. Thereupon a two years truce was concluded. In 551 A.D. the struggle was renewed. This time the Langobards obtained but weak support from the Emperor. They still, however, managed to defeat the Gepidae. The decisive battle was fought either in the area between the Danube and the Theiss²⁾ or in Pannonia II.³⁾ The Emperor, however, in order to maintain the equilibrium intervened in the negotiations and as a result no territorial changes took place, except that Dacia ripensis went back to the Empire. (See Map 37). This treaty between the Langobards, the Gepidae and the Emperor remained unbroken until 565 A.D. In this year the king of the Langobards, Alboin, abducted Rosimunda,

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 537.

2) Ibid. p. 539 foot note 1 and Kossinna: op. cit. p. 245.

3) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 539.

the daughter of Kunimund, king of the Gepidae.

After this event the war of course started up again. At first the Langobards were victorious but in 566 A.D. the Gepidae with the help of imperial troops defeated the Langobards. Alboin had to send Rosimunda back.¹⁾ In order to revenge himself Alboin now allied himself with the Avars, a Hunnish people, who since 538 A.D. had been settled to the east of the Gepidae. The call of the Gepidae to the Emperor remained unanswered, and the allies moved simultaneously into the lands of the Gepidae. Diculescu and Kossinna think the Avars came from the east through the passes in the Carpathians;²⁾ Schmidt on the other hand thinks they crossed the Danube in Scythia minor (modern Dobrudza) and with the permission of the Emperor marched along the Roman military road that went immediately south of the Danube.³⁾ Kunimund left some detachments of his army in the east and with the bulk of his army hurried to the west in order to meet the Langobards and defeat them before the Avars could join them. In the battle, however, which took place in the Banat the Langobards defeated the Gepidae. Kunimund fell and his daughter became a prisoner of Alboin.⁴⁾ A Germanic saga tells us that Alboin had a drinking cup made out of Kunimund's skull.⁵⁾ The few

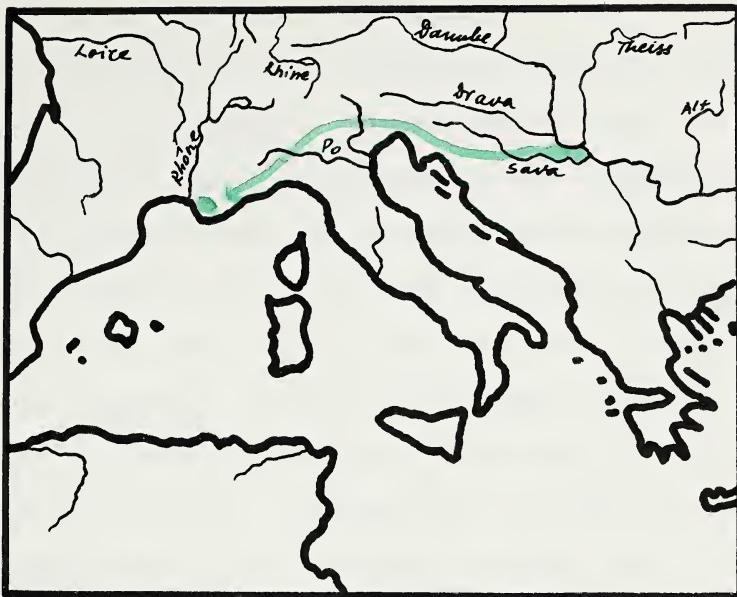
1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 540.

2) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 247, and Schmidt: op. cit. 541.

3) Schmidt: ibid. p. 541.

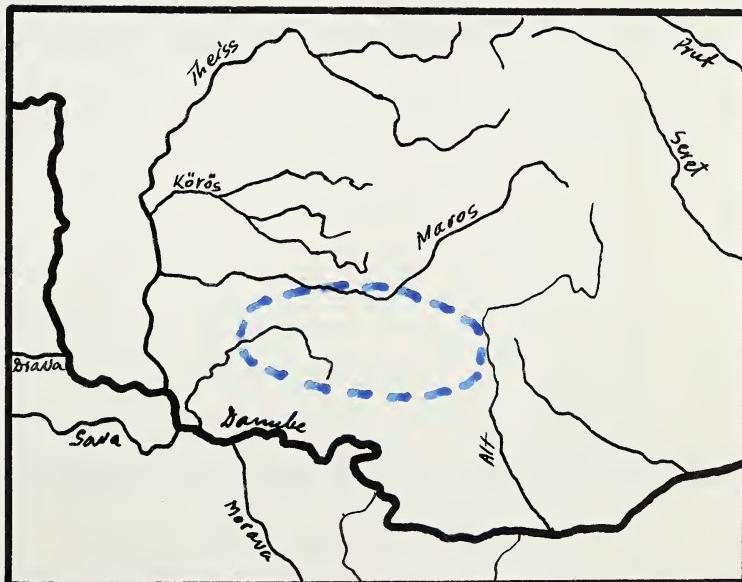
4) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 247.

5) Ibid.



Map 38.

504 - 536 - 555 A.D.



Map 39.

567 - IX.cent. A.D.

Gepidian troops which had been left behind to protect the eastern frontier were easily brushed aside by the Avars, who had then no great difficulty in occupying the lands of the Gepidae. The remnants of the tribe still carried on a partisan warfare in the Carpathian Mountains for three years before they were completely annihilated. The Avars, and their auxiliaries, the Slavs, spread over the whole of the territory formerly occupied by the Gepidae. Some of the Gepidae remained for a while under the rule of the Avars, and supplied them with auxiliary troops. (See Map 39). In 670 A.D. they were assigned the task of driving the Slavs out of Dacia. In the 9th century they must have come under the domination of the Bulgarians who destroyed the empire of the Avars. From the 8th century on, however, they were gradually absorbed by the local population out of which the modern Romanians developed.¹⁾

1) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 248, and Schmidt: op. cit. p. 543.

Chapter 8

THE GOTHS

Opinions are also divided in respect to the original homeland of the Goths. All agree that the Goths came from Scandinavia, and differences of opinion emerge as to where only¹⁾ the original homeland is localized. Kossinna thought in his early works¹⁾ that the majority of the Goths came from the island of Gotland and only some insignificant elements from other Scandinavian districts. (See Map 40). In this point of view he was seconded by Blume.²⁾ In his later writings³⁾ Kossinna changed his point of view, deriving the Goths chiefly from the Scandinavian mainland, specifically from Götaland. Only some of the inhabitants of Gotland joined them. (See Map 40). The Goths crossed the Baltic and landed at the mouth of the Vistula. Nor was Kossinna's opinion stable in respect to the time of migration. At first he thought they arrived at the mouth of the Vistula about the beginning of the present era. Later he set the time of arrival a few decades earlier. Still later he suggests the middle of the 1st century B.C. Finally he returned to his original statement.⁴⁾ Algren rejects Kossinna's early view and Blume's that the original homeland was on the island of Gotland. The great number of archaeological artifacts found on the island of Gotland during the first century A.D. forbids for him

1) Nerman: Die Herkunft und die frühesten Auswanderungen der Germanen, p. 52.

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid. pp. 49 - 50.

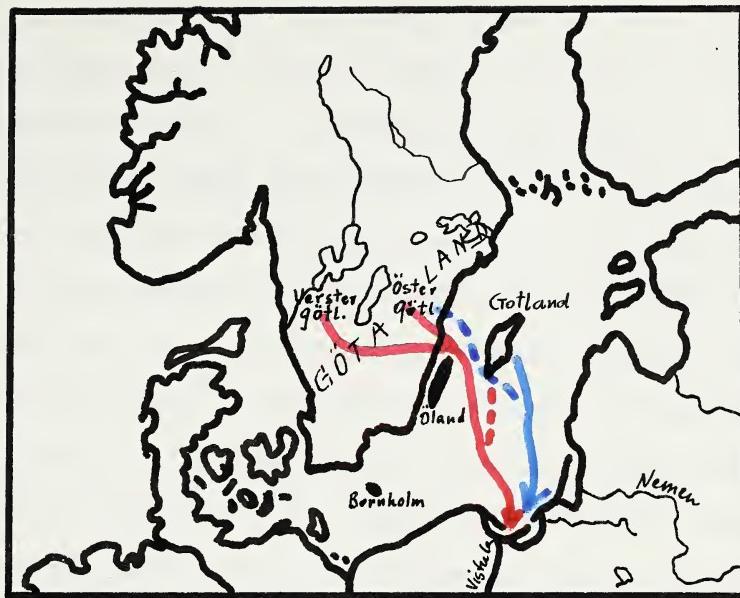
the assumption of a migration having taken place from that area. During this century also a burial custom differing from that of the Vistula area and Scandinavia develops on the island of Gotland. A different burial custom is also found on the island of Öland. Thus derivation of the Goths from either of these two islands is out of the question. In Almgren's opinion then the migration must have come from the Scandinavian mainland.¹⁾ After having examined the previous views, Nerman himself decides in favor of Götaland as the original homeland, more exactly Öster- and Västergötaland. (See Map 40). As for the time he agrees with the early and late view of Kossinna, that is, the beginning of the present era.²⁾ The appearance of inhumation burials in Scandinavia and in the area around the mouth of the Vistula, as well as close resemblances in the burials of the two areas, proves for Nerman a connection between them. The inhumation custom, Nerman thinks, was probably taken over from the Celts.³⁾ This custom continues on the Scandinavian mainland and in the Vistula area, whereas on Gotland and Öland local varieties develop, excluding these areas as the original homeland.

At the same time we witness a sudden and a considerable decrease in the number of artifacts found on the

1) Nerman: op. cit. pp. 52 - 53.

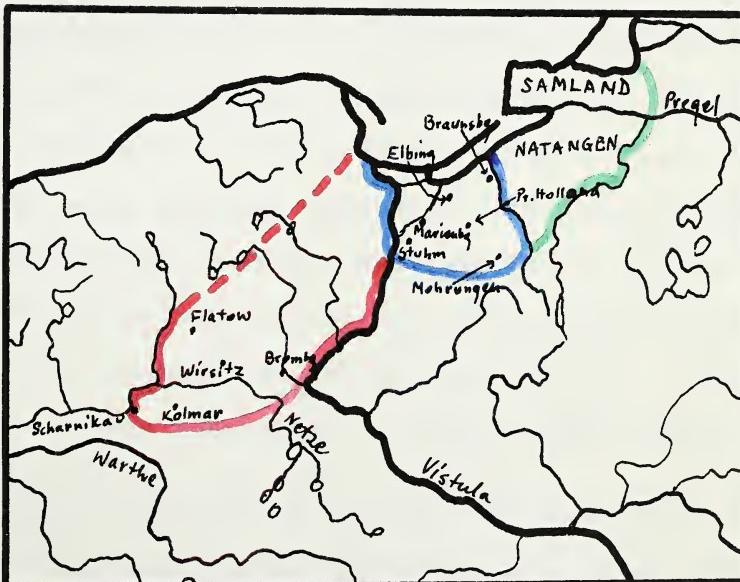
2) Ibid. p. 58.

3) Ibid. p. 50.



Map 40.

0



Map 41.

blue	0 - 150 A.D.
green	100 - " "
red	125 - " "

Scandinavian mainland from this time. This would indicate migration. The Gothic saga, as told by Jordanes about 550 A.D.¹⁾ tells us about the arrival of the Goths from Scandinavia. According to this saga the Goths migrated under their king Berich, and there is no evidence of a king ever reigning on the island of Gotland.

Much contents himself with the statement that the Goths came from Scandinavia, without any more exact specification.²⁾ Nor does he express any opinion about the time of the migration. Schmidt accepts Nerman's view in respect to the place from which the migration started, but in respect to time he agrees with Kossinna's view from his middle period, that is, about the middle of the first century B.C.³⁾

In historical writings the Goths are mentioned for the first time by Plinius, who places them rather vaguely in Northeastern Germany.⁴⁾ Plinius also refers to a statement by Pytheas of Massilia to the effect that on his journey on a coast rich in amber he came across a tribe named Gutones, Guiones.⁵⁾ There is, however, no archaeological evidence that the Goths inhabited the district of Samland in Eastern Prussia, where amber is found in large quantities, as early as 350 B.C. Pytheas must have become acquainted with this tribe in the second

1) Nerman: op. cit. pp. 45 and 46.

2) Much: Reallexik. d. german. Altertumskunde, Vol. 2, p. 307.

3) Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme, Vol. I, pp. 83 and 196.

4) Plinius: Hist. Nat. IV, 99.

5) Ibid., 37 and 35.

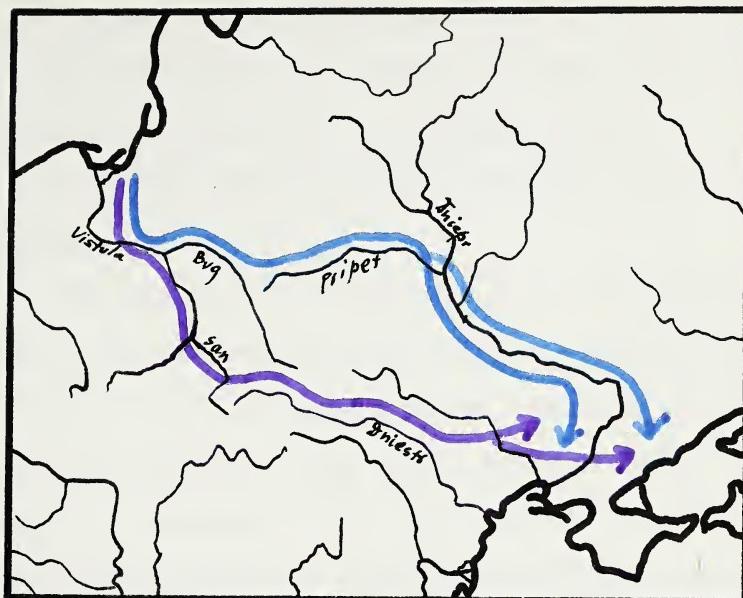
richest amber district in the north, the western coast of the Jutish Peninsula. Perhaps the name of the tribe was Teutones.¹⁾ Tacitus localizes the Goths in the rear of the Vandals.²⁾ For present purposes the view of Nerman is accepted: that the Goths came from Öster and Västergotland at the beginning of the present era, that they landed at the mouth of the Vistula, (See Map 40) and then subdued or expelled that part of the Rugians who had occupied that area before them. In the course of the 1st century A.D. they spread eastwards as far as the Passarge, occupying the districts of Marienburg, Stuhm, Elbing, Pr. Hollands, Mohrungen and Braunsberg,³⁾ as well as the Island between the Vistula and the Nogat rivers. (See Map 41). In the first part of the 2nd century A.D. they must have exercised sovereignty over the Aestes who were in Samland and Natangen.⁴⁾ (See Map 41).

The branch of the Gothic tribe that later formed the tribe of the Gepidae expanded in the meantime at the beginning of the 2nd century over the district of Flatow and the Netze area in the districts of Bromberg, Scharnikau, Wirsitz and Kolmar. Thus they went around the Burgundians who remained east of the Vistula in the bend of this river.⁵⁾ (See Map 41).

As long as the Goths remained in these areas they

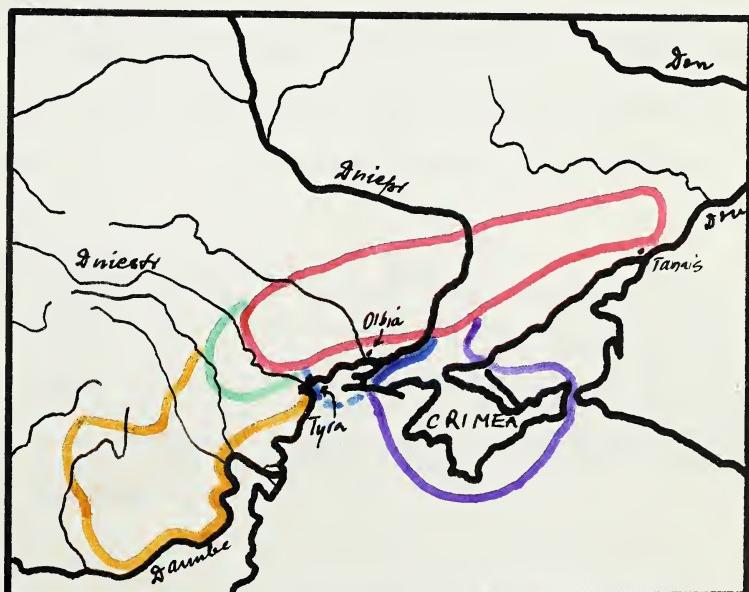
- 1) Schmidt: Geschichte der germanischen Frühzeit, p. 34.
- 2) Tacitus: Germania 34.
- 3) Kossinna: German. Kultur im I. Jhat. n. Chr., p. 237.
- 4) Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme, Vol. I, p. 198.
- 5) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 238.

Map 42.



150 - 200 A.D.

Map 43.



red	200 - 270 A.D.
green	238 - " "
blue	250 - " "
orange	257 - " "
Violet	260 - " "

still formed one civitas. The division into Ostrogoths and Visigoths took place only after their arrival in Southern Ukraine. The section of the common Gothic tribe that remained on the island between the Vistula and the Nogat after 150 A.D. received a new name -- the Gepidae.

The migration of that branch of the tribe which later constituted the Goths proper began about 150 A.D. On their way south they brushed aside a small pocket of Masurian Vandals. (See under the Vandals). Some Goths, however, remained in the area east of the Nogat, and these remained in Eastern Prussia even after the Gepidae in their turn migrated about the beginning of the 4th century.¹⁾ Out of the mixture of these Goths and various other tribes there developed a tribe called Viduvatrii.²⁾

From this point on the further migrations of the part of the tribe that later came to be known as the Goths will be discussed.³⁾ About the Gepidae see page 45.

1) Nerman: op. cit. pp. 59 - 60.

2) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 530.

3) Since the story of the Goths has been done by Mr. Oyler, who submitted a thesis on this subject, the following data have been taken from his work. This data concerns only the territorial expansion and is given here in order to complete the story of the East Germanic peoples and in explanation of the maps. The references are as given in Mr. Oyler's thesis.

The route taken by the Goths in 150 A.D. was: The Bug, Pripet, the Dniepr into Southern Ukraine; or the Vistula, the San river across to the Dniestr and so into Southern Ukraine. (See Map 42).

In 170 A.D. -- First Gothic detachments in the Black Sea area.

In 200 A.D. - 230 A.D. Arrival of the main body of the tribe, and formation of a new civitas in the land between the Don and the Dniestr. (See Map 43).

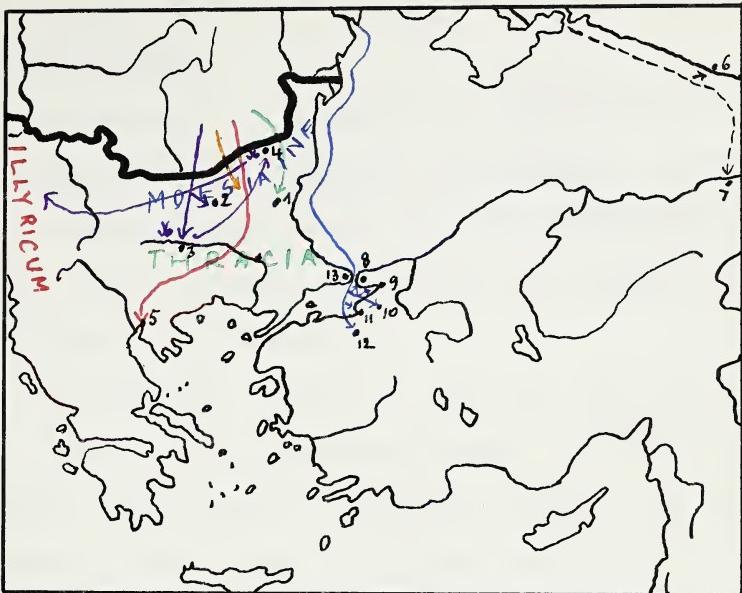
In 248 A.D. -- Raid into Moesia inferior. Unsuccessful siege of Marcianopolis. (See Map 44).

In 250 A.D. -- Raid into Moesia inferior. Unsuccessful siege of Nicopolis, crossing into Thrace and the capture of Philippopolis. Second decisive battle by Abritta (or Forum Trebonii) near Siliestria. A Roman army defeated and Illyria ravaged. (See Map 44). Tyra and Olbia captured. (See Map 43.).

In 257 A.D. -- The province of Dacia evacuated by the Romans and the Goths pushed in. Capture of Pithyus and Trebizond on the eastern shores of the Black Sea. (Map 44).

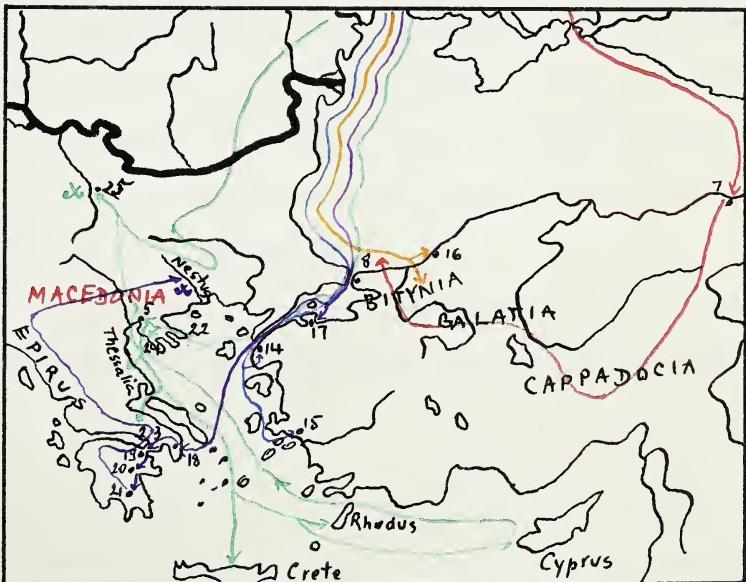
In 258 A.D. -- Expansion from the mouth of the Dniestr along the western shores of the Black Sea. The crossing of the Bosphorus and the taking of such cities as: Chalcedon, Nicomedia, Nicaea, Apamea and Prus in Asia Minor. (See Map 44).

In 260 A.D. -- The Goths occupy Great Walachia, the southern part of Siebenbürgen and Moldavia. (See Map 43).



Map 44.

1 - Marcianopolis	8 - Calchedon	238 A.D. - orange
2 - Nicopolis	9 - Nicomedia	248 " - green
3 - Philippopolis	10 - Nicaea	250 " - violet
4 - Durostorum	11 - Cius	253 " - red
5 - Thessalonice	12 - Prusa	257 " - black
6 - Pithyus	13 - Bysantium	258 " - blue
7 - Trapesus (Trebizon)	14 - Ilion	



Map 45.

15 - Ephesus	19 - Corinth	23 - Boetia	262 A.D. - blue
16 - Heraclea Pont.	20 - Argos	24 - Cassandrea	264 " - red
17 - Cysicus	21 - Sparta	25 - Naissus	265 " - orange
18 - Athens	22 - Athos		267 " - violet
			269 " - green

The Crimea was also occupied at this time . (See Map 43). At this time also took place the division into Visigoths and Ostrogoths.

In 264 A.D. -- A landing at Trebizont and a raid through Cappadocia, Galatia and Bithynia. With the Christian prisoners taken were the grandparents of Wulfila on the mother's side, who were brought into Gothic territory. (See Map 45).

In 265 A.D. - 269 A.D. Sea and land raids into Asia Minor, where Heraclea Pontica is captured, into Greece, where Athenae, Corinthus, Sparta and Argos are ravaged. Their fleet having been scattered by the Romans they return home by way of Boetia, Epirus and Macedonia, where they are severely defeated by the Emperor Gallienus at the Nestus river. Another combined land and sea raid, affecting Moesia, Thrace, Athos, Cassandrea, Thessalonika, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, Greece and Asia Minor. The Goths suffered a decisive defeat at Naissus (Modern Nisch) by the Emperor Cladius. The land party moved with families and wagons and was consequently intended as a migration. (See Map 45.).

The further story of the Goths will be discussed under the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths separately.

Chapter 9

THE HERULI (EASTERN BRANCH)

Opinions are divided as to the exact original home-land of the Heruli. Müllenhoff¹⁾ and Much²⁾ think it has to be sought on the island of Seeland; (See Map 46) they think that the passage in Jordanis, Get. 23: "Dani ex ipsorum stirpe progressi Herulos propriis sedibus expulerant", refers to the end of the 5th century A.D., and that this expulsion took place on the island of Seeland, to which place the Danes came from Southern Sweden.

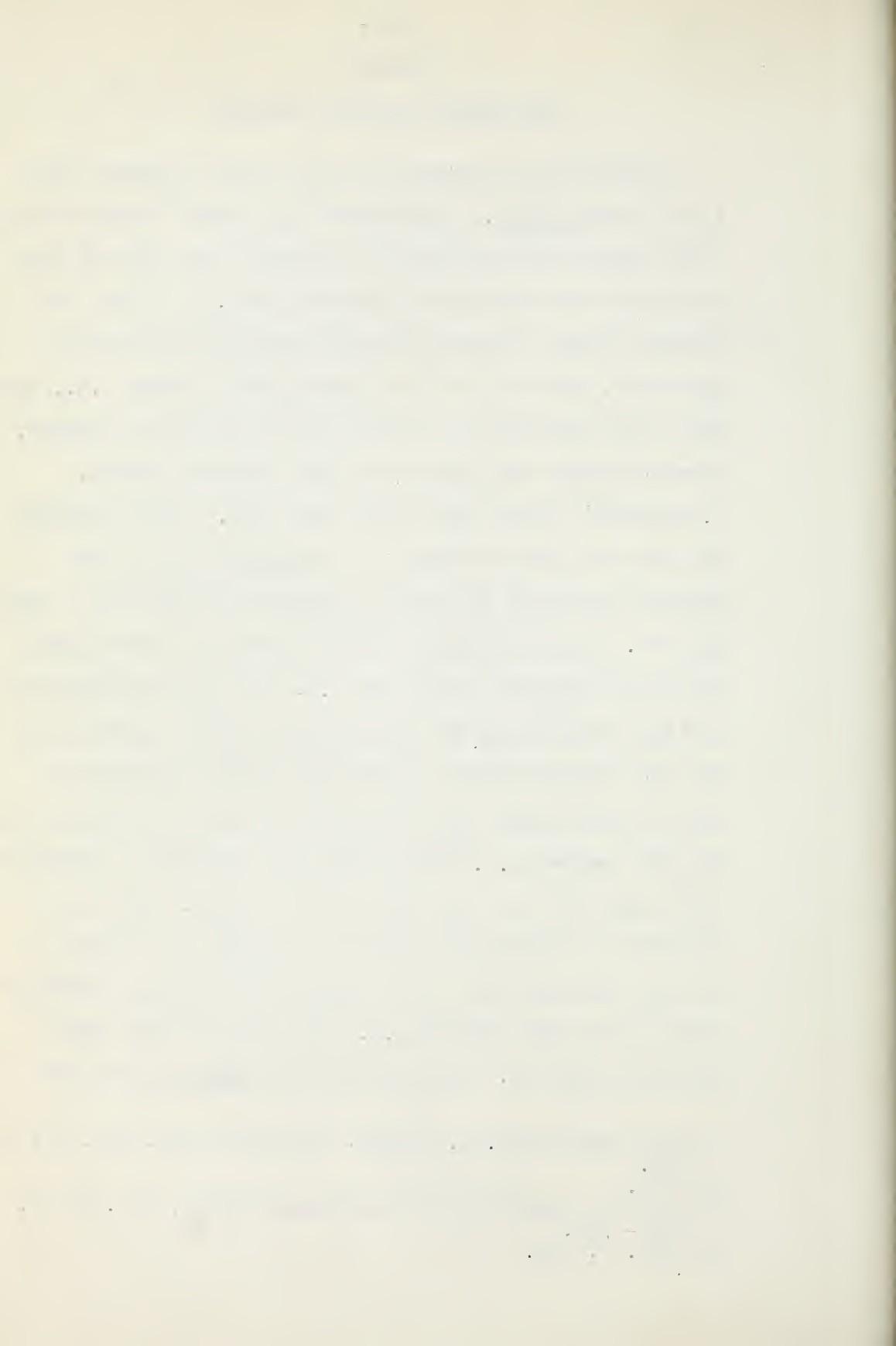
L. Schmidt³⁾ takes issue with this view. In his opinion the area at first occupied by the Heruli was in the Swedish districts of Halland, Smaland and Blekinge. (See Map 47). The passage in Jordanis refers to these areas and should be dated about 250 A.D. The great difference in time between the two explanations can be explained by the fact that the first positively certain information which we have about the Danes dates from the beginning of the 6th century A.D.⁴⁾ Much does not consider it advisable to go back too far from this point of time, while the scarcity of information makes it possible for Schmidt to date the existence of the Danes as a separate tribe as early as the 3rd century A.D., even if we do not know anything about it. The raids of the Heruli in the 3rd

1) Much: Reallexik. d. German. Altertumskunde, Vol. II, p. 518.

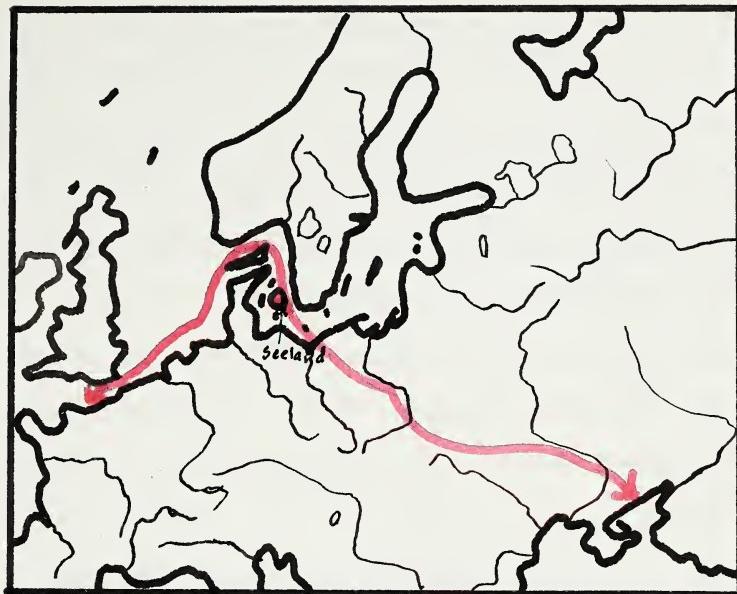
2) Ibid.

3) Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme, Vol. I, pp. 548 - 549.

4) Ibid. p. 549.



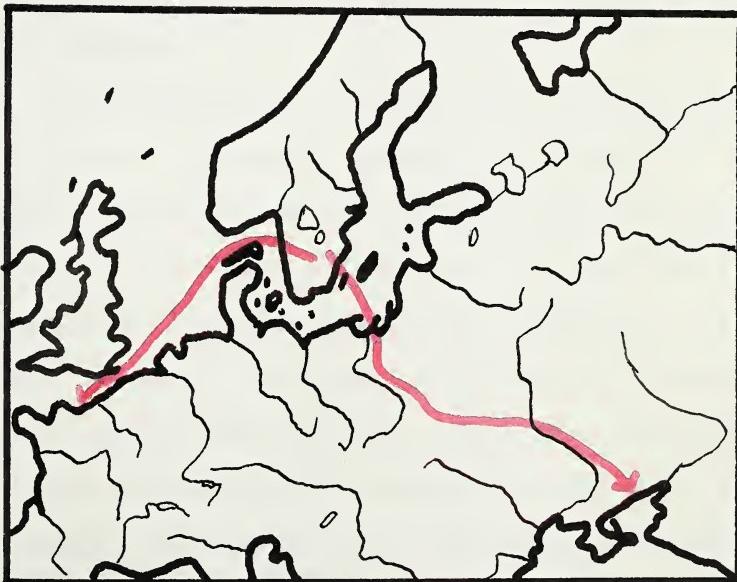
Map 46.



Much

250 A.D.

Map 47.



Schmidt

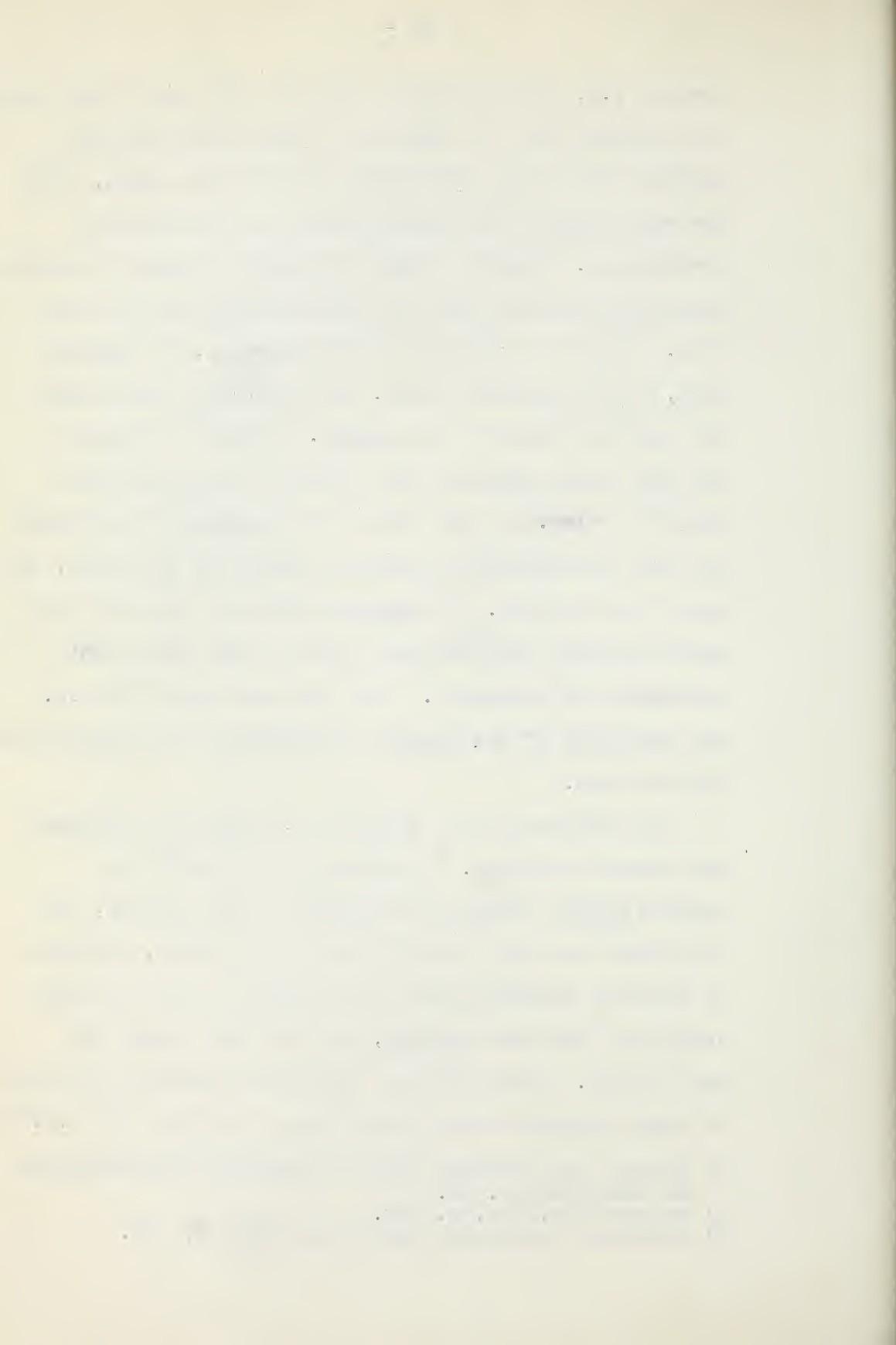
250 A.D.

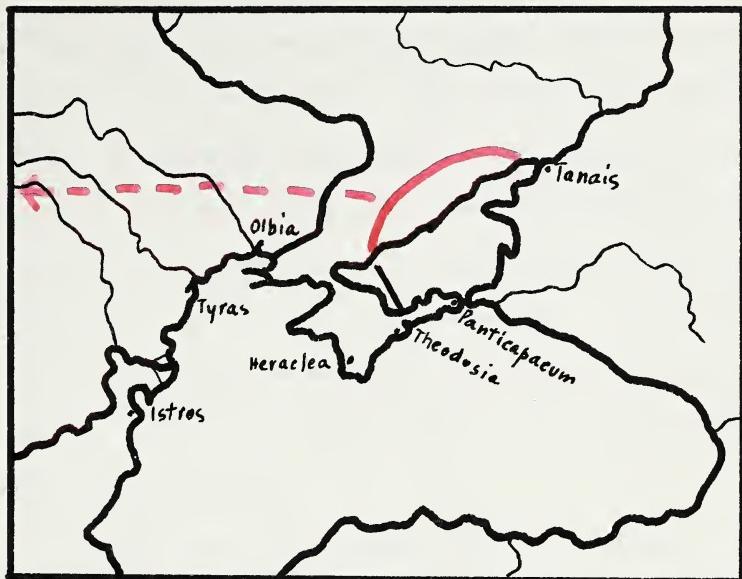


century A.D. on the coastal areas of Gaul and on the coast of the Black Sea are regarded by Much as having been carried out by some offshoots from the main tribe, while the main body of the tribe remained in its original territories. Schmidt thinks that under pressure from the Danes the Herulian tribe had already emigrated at this time. A part of the tribe went southwest, and another part, to be described below, went southeast and formed the eastern branch of the Heruli. Nerman¹⁾ advocates the view which combines some features from both these points of view. In his opinion the Heruli were attacked in their territories in Southern Sweden by the Danes, who came from Svaeland. The Heruli retreated into the West Danish Islands and from here parts of the tribe went southwest and southeast. This happened about 250 A.D. The remainder of the Heruli in Scandinavia was assimilated by the Danes.

The explanation as given by L. Schmidt is accepted for present purposes. According to Schmidt²⁾ the eastern Heruli landed at the mouth of the Vistula, and following the route already used by the Goths, arrived in Southern Ukraine, where they settled in the district called at that time Maeotis, now the area around the Sea of Azov. (See Map 48). The first positive information of their presence there dates from as early as 267 A.D.³⁾

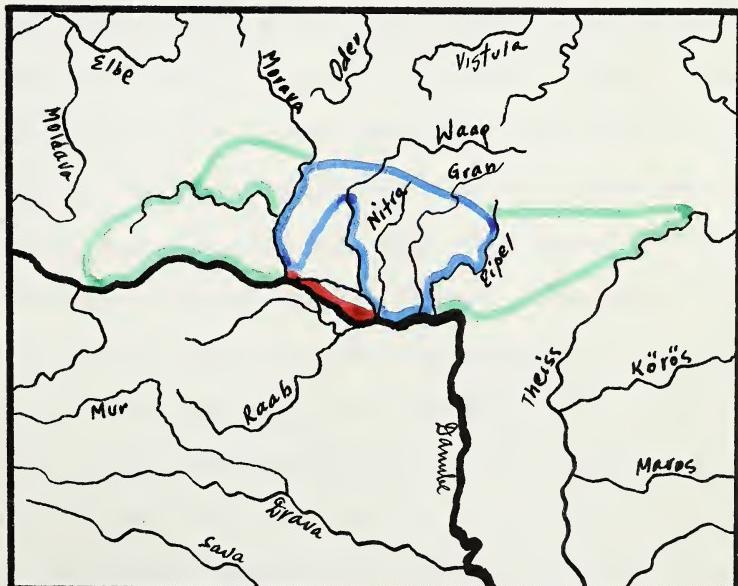
- 1) Nerman: Die Herkunft und die frühesten Auswanderungen der Germanen, p. 60.
- 2) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 549.
- 3) Jordanes: De origine actibusque Getarum, 117.





Map 48.

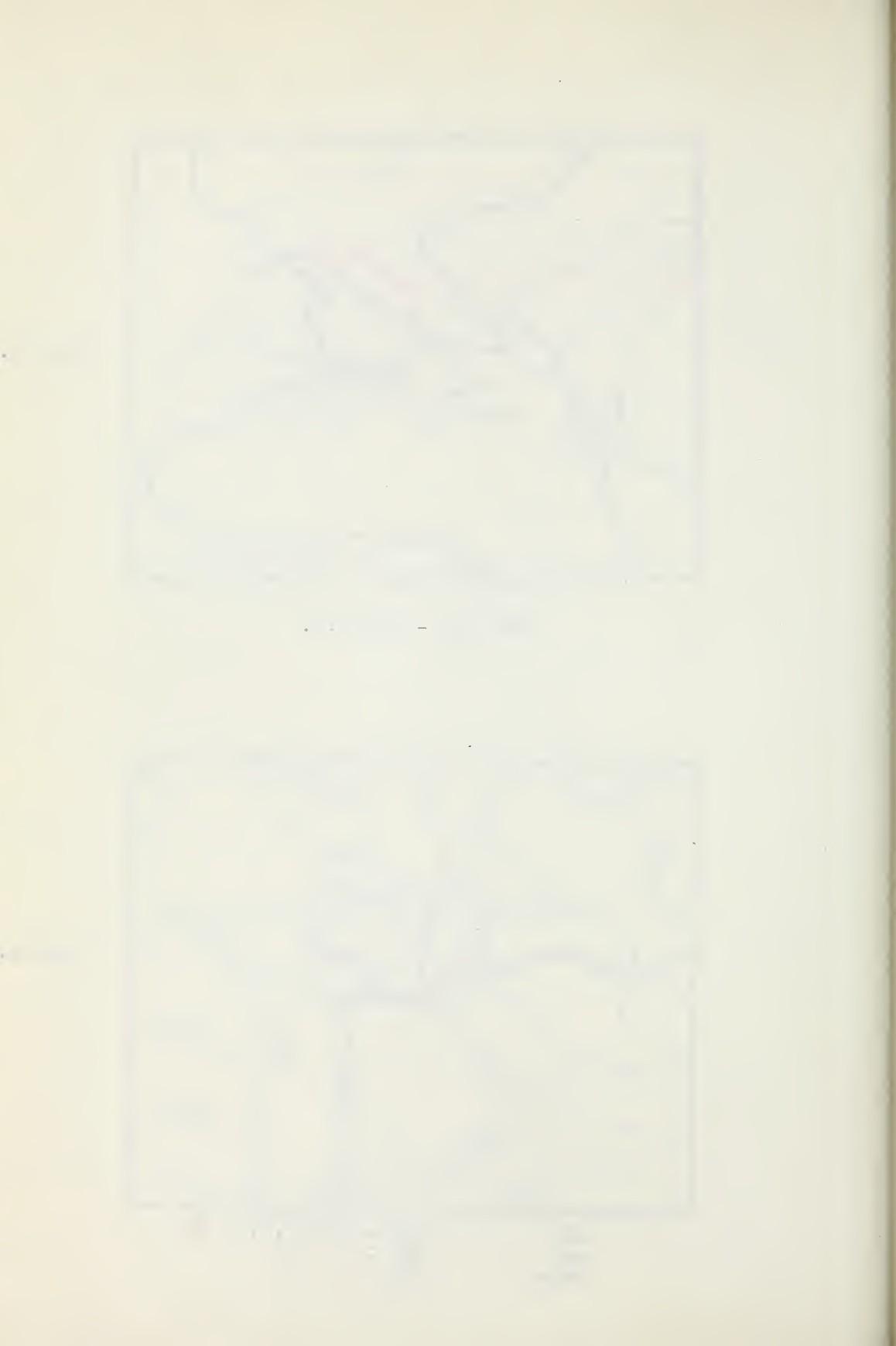
255 (?) - 453 A.D.



Map 49.

blue
red
green

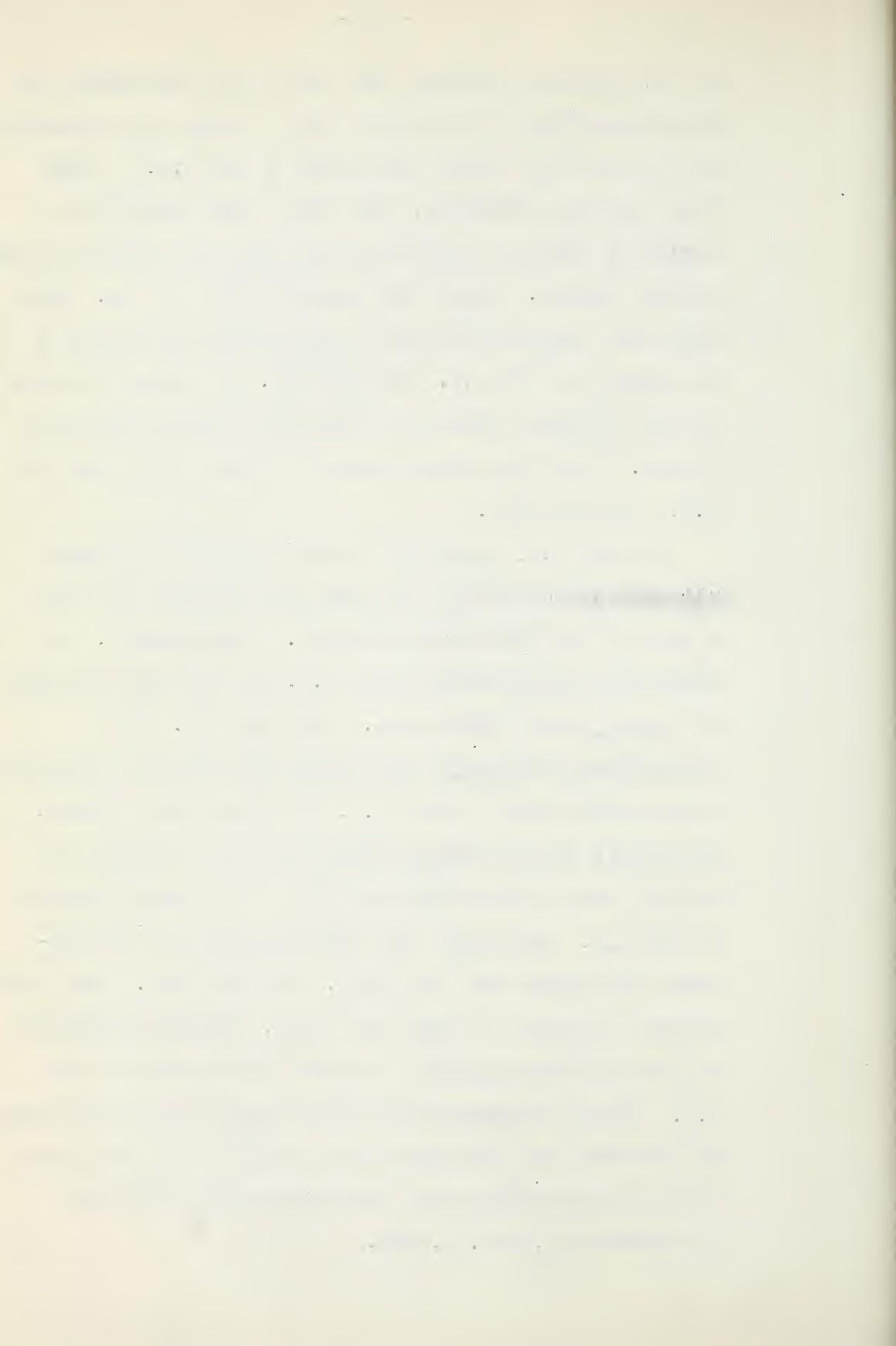
453 - 505 A.D.
469 - " "
490 - " "

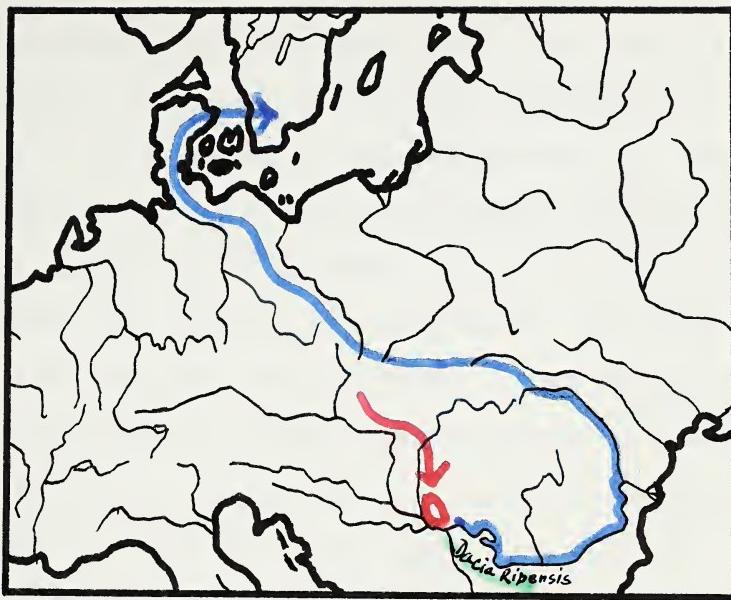


It is, however, possible that they were responsible for the destruction of the Greek city of Tanais at the mouth of the Don river which took place in 255 A.D.¹⁾ With their western neighbors, the Goths, they undertook a series of raiding expeditions into the territories of the Eastern Empire. These were usually raids by sea. Particularly dangerous was the raid carried out mainly by the Heruli in 267 A.D. (See Map 45). It finally failed, but its boldness terrified the whole of the Balkan Peninsula. They also participated in raids in 269 and 276 A.D. (See Map 45).

In 350 A.D. during the reign of Alarich the Heruli were subjugated by the Goths of Ermenrich and made a part of the great Gothic Empire. (See Map 60). In destroying this Empire in 375 A.D. the Huns also brought the Heruli under their rule. (See Map 48). As a consequence the Heruli were among the Germanic troops who accompanied Attila in 451 A.D. in his raid into France. The Heruli also participated in the great Germanic rebellion which ended with the fall of the Hunnish Empire in 453 A.D. Following this they occupied the land between the Morava and the Eipel. (See Map 49). They grew greatly in power in these new areas. They participated in the coalition against the Goths in Pannonia in 469 A.D. After the destruction of the Skiri which took place in the same year they must have occupied the territories of the latter between the Little Carpathians and the

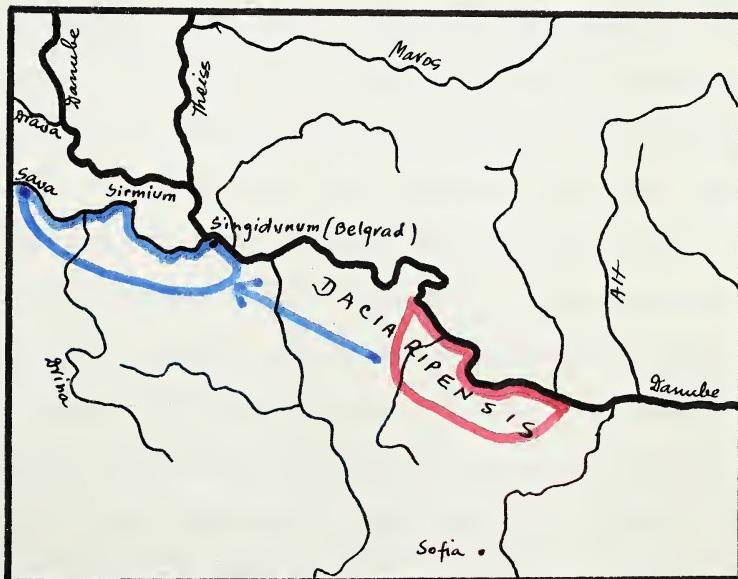
1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 550.





Map 50.

red 505 - 512 A.D.
blue and green 512 -



Map 51.

red 512 - 536 A.D.
blue 536 - 545 "



1) Waag (See Map 49). Here they absorbed the remnants of the Skiri. From 471 A. D. on they kept raiding Pannonia and Noricum, after the departure of the Goths from the former province. They also served very frequently as mercenary troops in the armies of the Western Empire. They composed the majority of the troops with which Odoacer overran Italy in 476 A.D.²⁾ A number of tribes were tributary to them, for example, the Langobards, who shortly after 488 A.D. occupied the territory of the Rugians after the destruction of the latter by Odoacer.³⁾ (See Map 49), and the Hasdingian Vandals in the region of the Upper Theiss, as well as remnants of the Quadi, the majority of whom had left their lands in 406 A.D., joining the Vandals. (See Map 49). The Herulians were now at the peak of their power. Around 500 A.D. Theodoric the Great made an alliance with them and named Rudolf, their king, as his 'Waffensohn'. But about 498 A.D. the Langobards left former Rugian territory and settled in Central Hungary. Finally, according to Schmidt⁴⁾ probably in 505 A.D. there came a final clash between the Langobards and the Heruli. The Langobards won; Rodulf, the Herulian king, fell with the greater part of his men. The remnants of the tribe fled before the advancing Langobards into Rugiland but were unable to remain there for long, because the area had been completely devastated and they had been accustomed to living as overlords⁵⁾ (See Map 50). Finally they

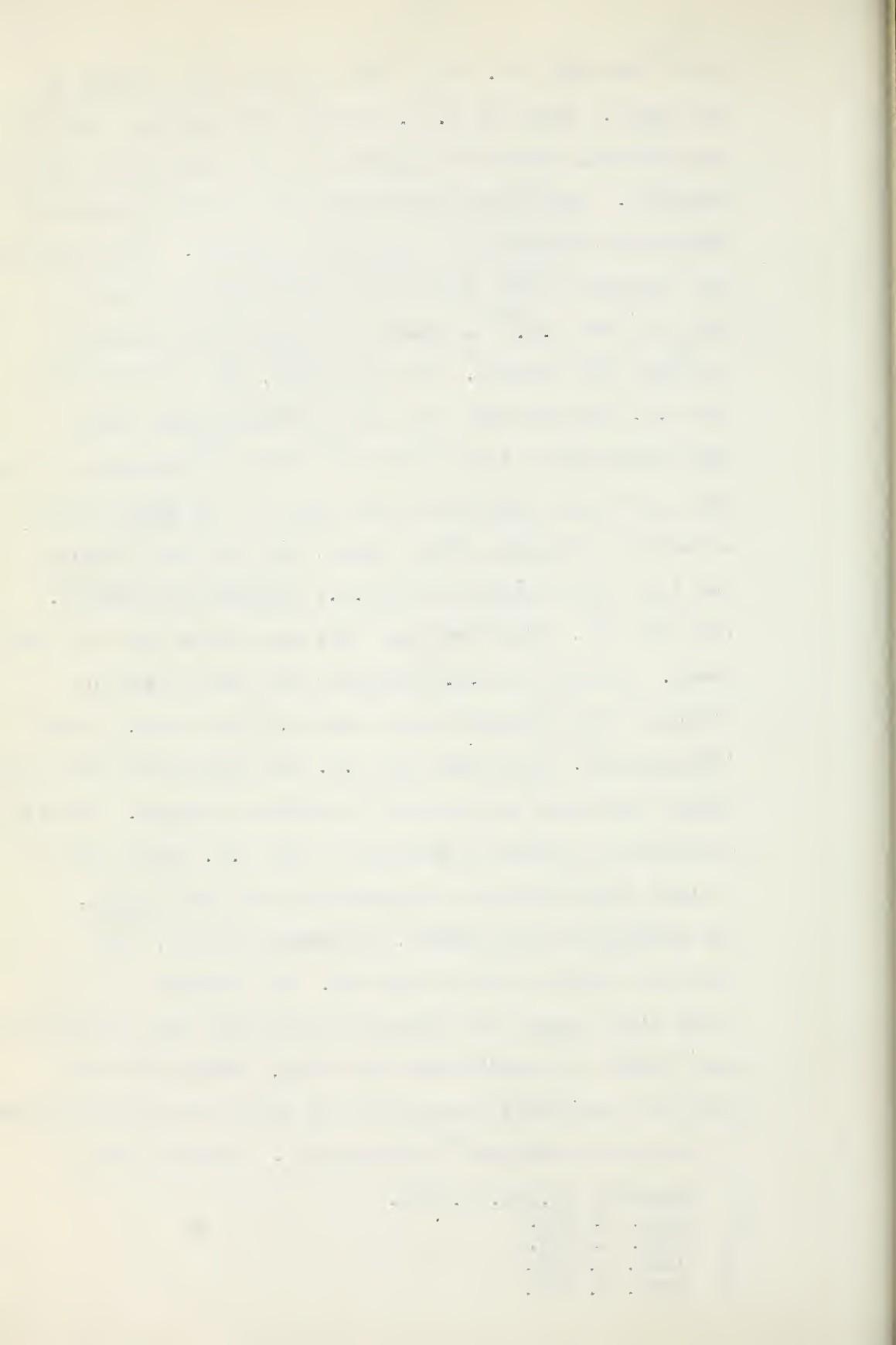
1) Schmidt: op.cit. p. 551.

2) Ibid. p. 550.

3) Ibid. p. 551.

4) Ibid. p. 552.

5) Ibid. p. 553.



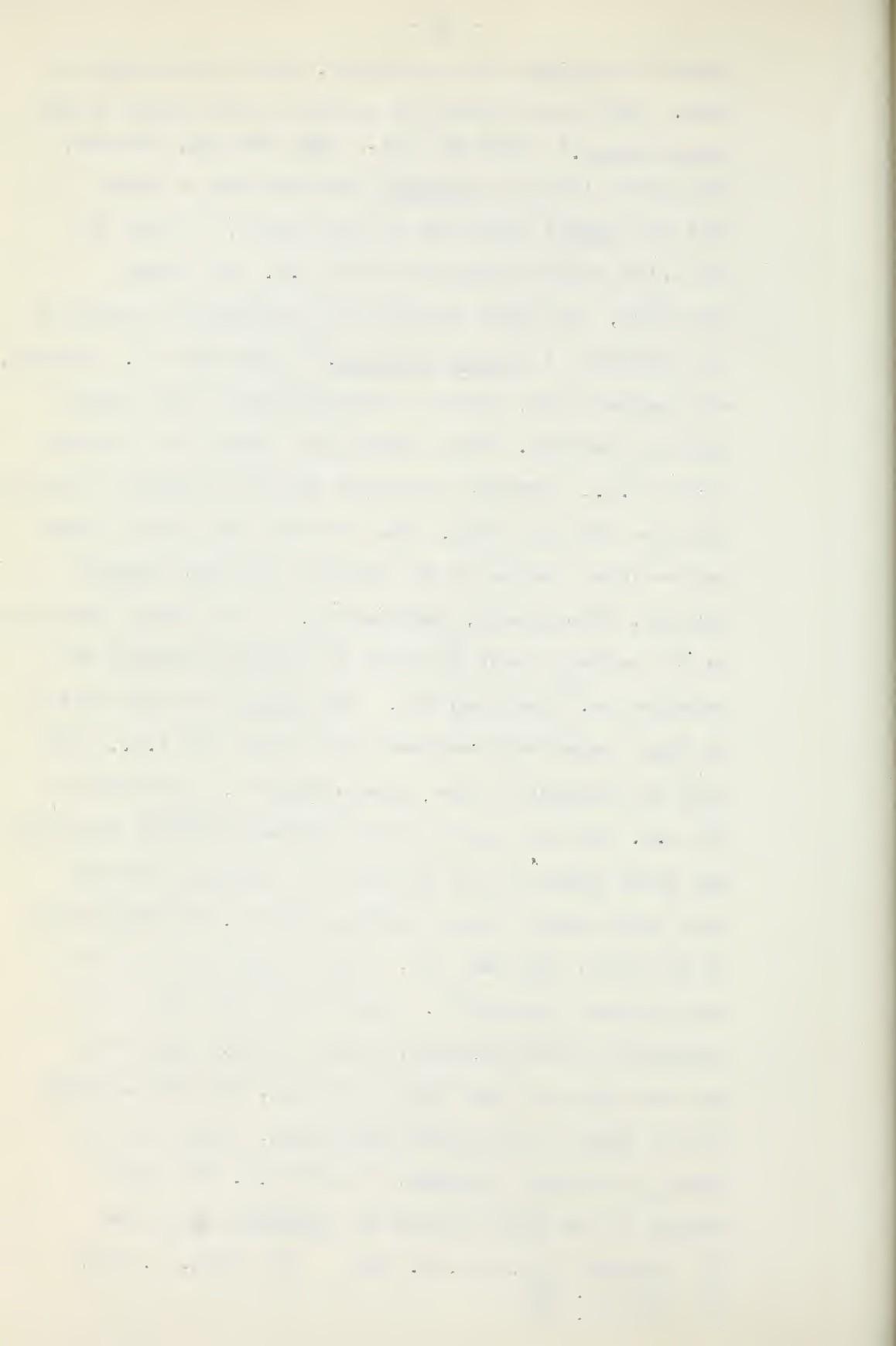
asked the Gepidae for protection, which was granted to them. They were allowed to settle in the region of the Lower Theiss.¹⁾ (See Map 50). They did not, however, stay there long; the Gepidae treated them so badly that the Heruli preferred to move again. A part of the tribe sought entrance in 512 A.D. into Roman territory, and these people were permitted to settle in the province of Dacia ripensis.²⁾ (See Map 50). Another, and smaller part, chose to journey back to the Scandinavian homeland. These Herulians started the journey in 512 A.D., probably travelled down the Danube as far as the junction with the Prut, then followed the latter river to the upper course of the Vistula and then through Silesia, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, to the Jutish Peninsula, on the eastern coast of which the Heruli embarked for Scandinavia.³⁾ (See Map 50). The Heruli who had settled in Roman territory remained there until 535 A.D., when with the consent of the Eastern Emperor, they moved in 536 A.D. into the area around Singidunum(modern Belgrade) and those areas of the province of Pannonia II which were still under Roman control, that is, the area south of the Sava. (See Map 51). Their task was to protect the northern frontier⁴⁾. About this time they were converted to Christianity, some of them, among whom was the king, to the Catholic branch, but the majority of the tribe to the Arian confession. This was the cause of internal trouble. In 545 A.D. the Arian branch of the tribe joined the Gepidae across the

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 553

4) Ibid. p. 554.

2) Ibid: p. 553

3) Ibid: p. 553

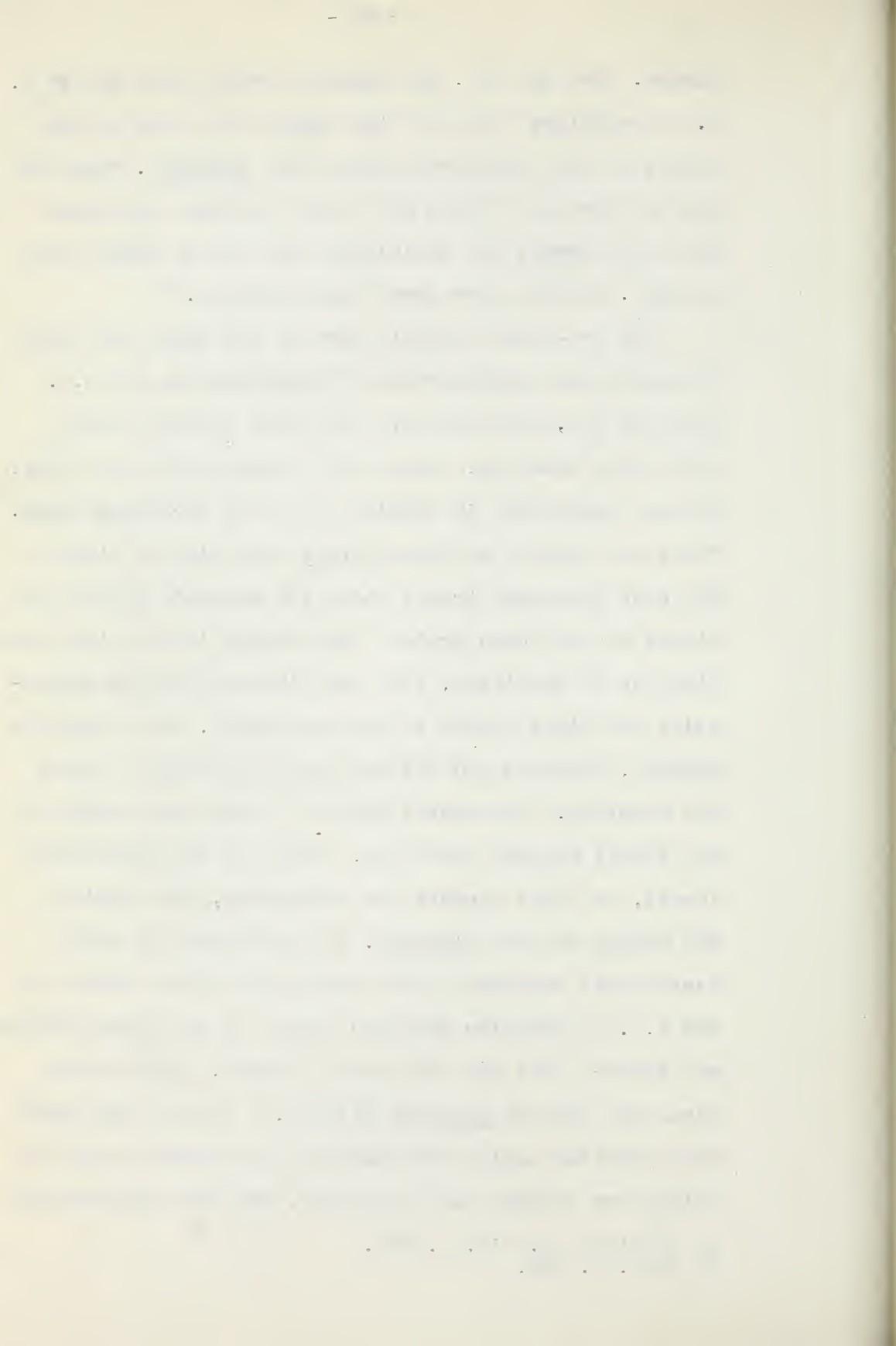


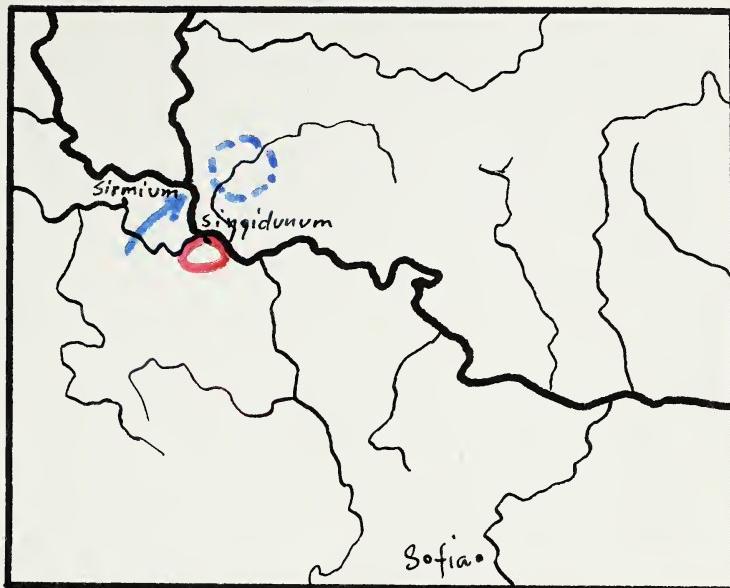
Danube. (See Map 52). The Catholic Branch went in 547 A.D. as auxiliary troops of the Romans (who were now the allies of the Langobards against the Gepidae). These Roman and Herulian troops met on the Gepidian territory the Arian Heruli and annihilated the latter almost completely. Nothing more about them is known.¹⁾

The Pro-Roman Catholic part of the tribe was still living in the neighbourhood of Singidunum in 550 A.D. (See Map 52), but must have left this region shortly after this time and, except for a brief period in Italy, was not successful in finding a new and permanent home. There are notices of these Heruli from time to time as the best mercenary troops which the Germanic people furnished to the Roman armies: they fought in the first Persian war of Justinian, they were instrumental in suppressing the Nikaa revolt in Constantinople, they fought in Armenia, Caucasus and Colchis under Belisarius against the Persians, contributed greatly to the destruction of the Vandal kingdom in Africa, fought in the Balkan Peninsula, in Italy against the Ostrogoths, also against the Franks and the Alemanni. In recognition of their exceptional services to the Empire they were settled in 554 A.D. as frontier garrison troops in the Trient boundary district (See Map 53) under Sinduals, who had been given the rank of magister militum.²⁾ After a few years they revolted against the Emperor and Sinduals tried to follow the pattern set by Odoacer, but this insurrection

1) Schmidt: op. Cit. p. 555.

2) Ibid. p. 557.

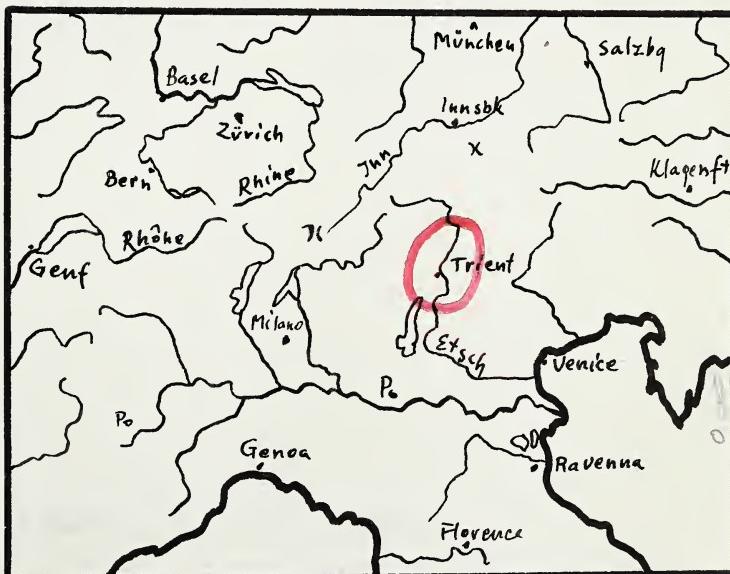




Map 52.

red
blue

545 - 555 (?) A.D.
" - 547 "



Map 53.

554 - 566/7 A.D.



was suppressed in 566 or 567 A.D. by Narsus.¹⁾ After
this they disappear from history.

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 558.

Chapter 10

THE LANGOBARDS

The original home of the Langobards was in Scandinavia; their own sagas and all other historical sources point to Scandinavia as their original homeland. Friesen¹⁾ interprets the meaning of the word 'Scandinavia' in the early sources to refer only to the southern part of the peninsula, the region which is today called Scania, and Nerman²⁾ agrees with this interpretation. Gradually the name of this part of the peninsula was adopted for the whole country. This explanation confirms ~~with~~ the archaeological evidence. Scania, which during the Bronze Age shows a great wealth of artifacts, outnumbering the whole of the rest of the peninsula, shows an almost complete lack of archaeological material during the Pre-Roman Iron Age,³⁾ and this appears to indicate a very extensive emigration movement, induced in part by climatic deterioration, a factor which has already been discussed.

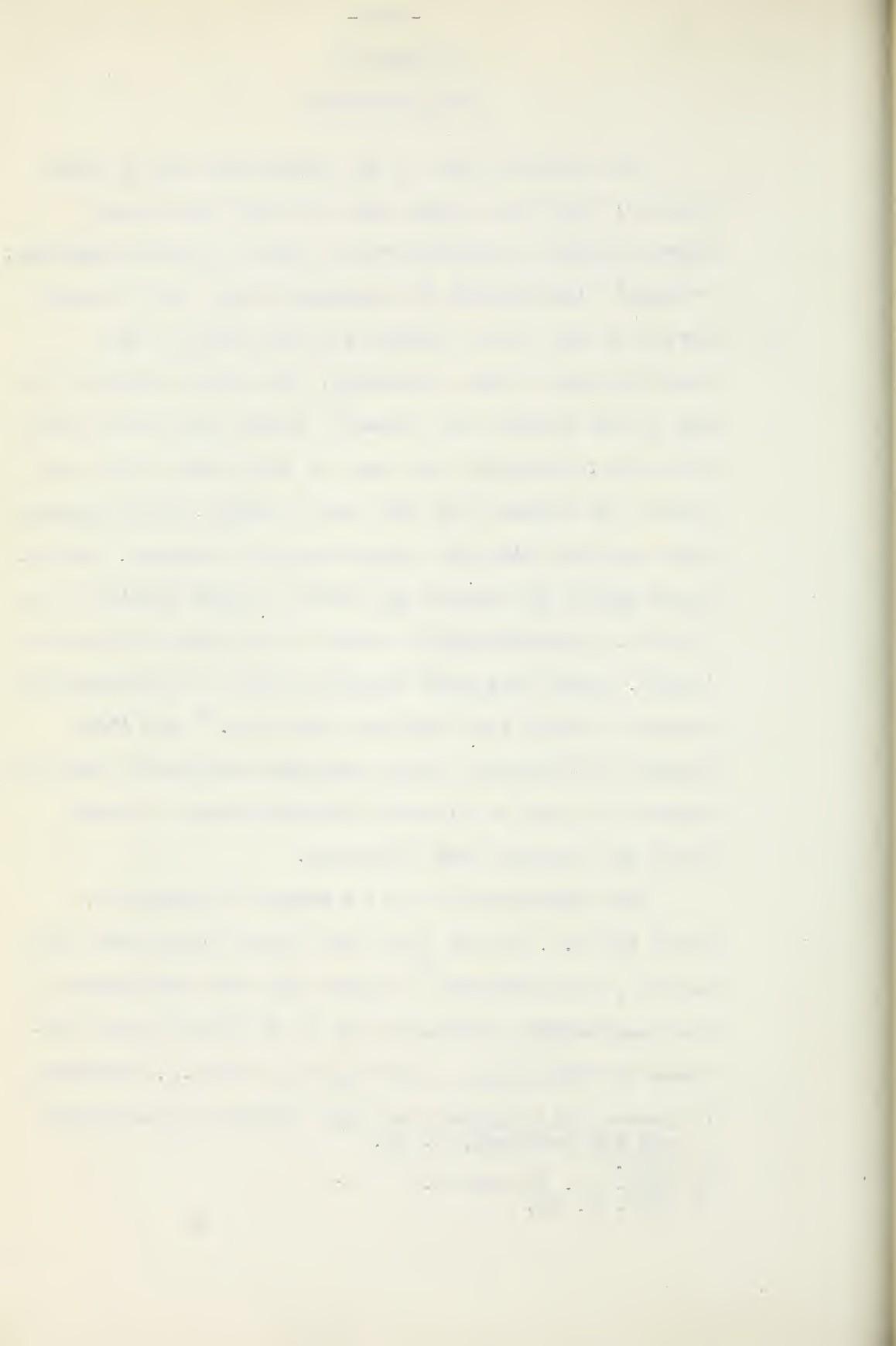
The Langobards are to be found in Germany at about 100 B.C. in the area west of the Lower Elbe (See Map 55), but Schwantes⁴⁾ claims that the prototypes of the Langobardian artifacts are to be found in the Province of Mecklenburg as far back as 600 B.C. Combining

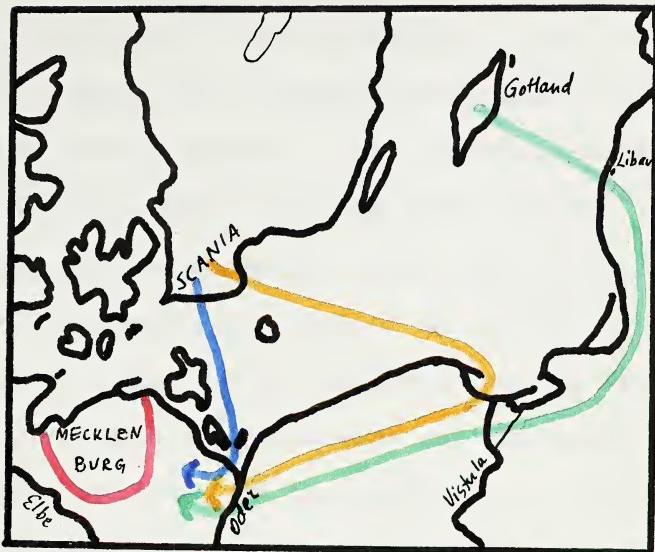
1) Nerman: Die Herkunft und die frühesten Auswanderungen der Germanen, p. 31.

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid. pp. 17 and 33.

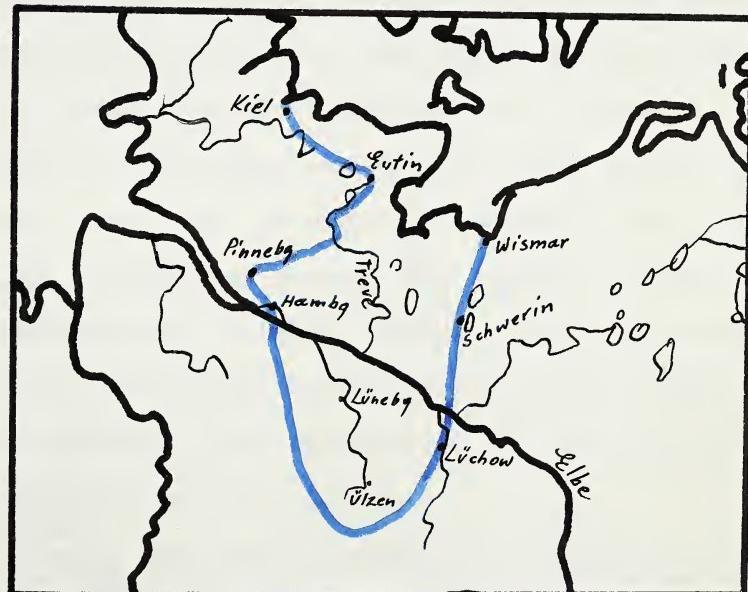
4) Ibid. p. 33.





Map 54.

blue	Nerman	600 B.C.
green	Schmidt	" "
orange	Kossinna	350 "
red	600 - 100 B.C.	



Map 55.

100 B.C. - 300 A.D.

the evidence, Nerman concludes¹⁾ that the Langobards came to Germany, to Mecklenburg, from Scania at the time of the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age. (See Map 54). There they remained until about 100 B.C., at which time they spread to the left bank of the Elbe.²⁾ (See Map 55). Much is of the same opinion.³⁾ Nerman explains the relationship that exists between the Law of the Langobards and that of the people of Gotland as being due either to the influence of the Gotlanders, who emigrated to Southern Denmark and Schleswig - Holstein at about 300 B.C., on the neighboring Langobards, or on the other hand as due to the influence of the Langobards on the Gotlanders who in turn passed on this influence to their relatives remaining on the island of Gotland.⁴⁾ L.Schmidt, however, regards the similarities of the two laws as proof that the Langobards came from the island of Gotland about the middle of the La Tène Period, i.e. about 300 B.C.⁵⁾ (See Map 54). A decrease in the number of artifacts can also be noted for Gotland at about this time. According to Schmidt, then, the Langobards crossed the Baltic, and landed somewhere in the neighbourhood of Libau, Latvia, and after coming into violent contact with the Vandals, moved along the shores of the Baltic into Mecklenburg.⁶⁾ (See Map 54). Kossinna

1) Nerman: op. cit. p. 33.

2) Ibid.

3) Hoops: Reallexik.d.German.Altertumskunde, Vol.III, p. 123.

4) Nerman: op. cit. p.37.

5) Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme, Vol.I, p. 567.

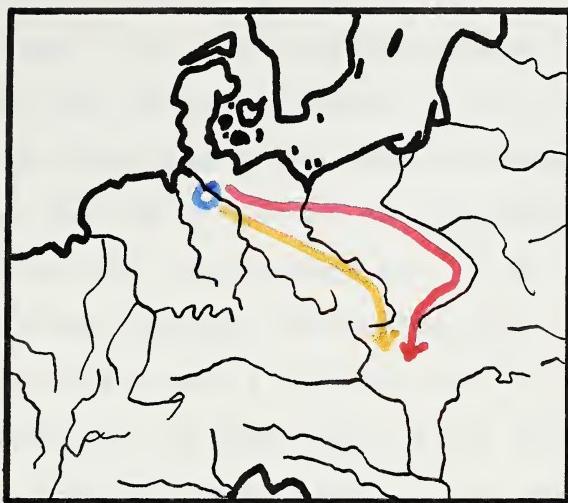
6) Ibid. p. 569.

however thinks that the Langobards came from Scania between 300 B.C. and 400 B.C. to the mouth of the Vistula and from there moved westward into Mecklenburg.¹⁾ (See Map 54).

In any case the Langobards appear to have occupied the area now called Mecklenburg and to have extended as far as the eastern part of Holstein. After the emigration of the Cimbri and the Teutoni about 120 B.C. they occupied the left bank of the Elbe also. They were separated from the North Sea by the Chauci and the Saxons; on the right bank of the Elbe, however, they touched the shores of the Baltic.²⁾ (See Map 55). According to Kossinna³⁾ their western border started at Kiel, ran from there to Eutin and then along the Treve to Segeberg, where it turns southwestward to Pinneberg, then turns to the left and reaches the Elbe at Hamburg. On the left bank of the Elbe they were mainly concentrated in the districts of Lüneberg and Ülzen, i.e. in the area of the Ilmenau river. On the right bank of the Elbe they occupied the western part of Mecklenburg as far east as Wismar and Schwerin. (See Map 55). At the time of the expedition of Tiberius in the year 5 A.D. the Langobards evacuated their areas on the left bank of the Elbe but returned there again after the battle of the Teutoburger Forest (9 A.D.). In the year 167 A.D. a detachment of 6000 Langobardian and Obian warriors following the route: Sile-

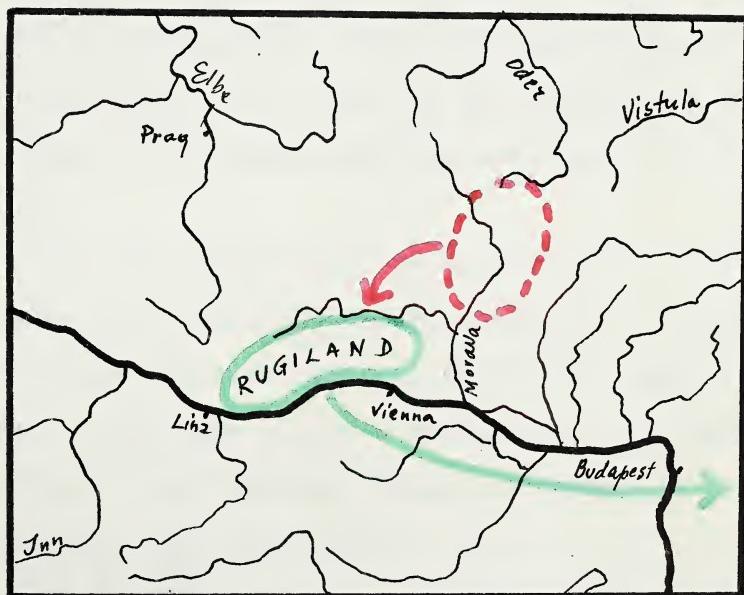
1) Kossinna: German. Kultur im I.Jhd. n.Chr., p. 322.

2) Ibid. p. 316 and Schmidt: op. cit. p. 570.



Map 56.

orange
red Schmidt IV. cent. A.D.
Kossinna " "



Map 57.

red 450 (?) - 488 A.D.
green 488 - 498 "

sia, the valley of the Morava, came to Upper Pannonia, where they were defeated by the Romans, after which they returned home.¹⁾ This raid was accompanied by no permanent settlement. From their settlements on the right and left banks of the Elbe (See Map 55) the Langobards emigrated probably at the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th century. After this the regions east of the Elbe with some minor exceptions remained unoccupied until the Slavs moved in. The next historically certain place of settlement by the Langobards was in Lower Austria and Southern Moravia, where they occupied the territory of the Rugians who had been defeated by Odoacer about 487 - 488²⁾ A.D.²⁾ From their North German areas they probably followed the route through Mark Brandenburg, Silesia, the Iron Gate into the valley of the Morava (according to Schmidt's view).³⁾ (See Map 56). Kossinna⁴⁾ thinks they moved first into Pomerania and then into the former territories of the Burgundians in Posen from where they reached Silesia and the Iron Gate. (See Map 56).

The areas in Northern Germany were not completely abandoned. In the areas around Lüneburg and in Eastern Holstein there remained parts of the tribe, later called 'the Barden'. This name referred specially to the Langobards of Lüneburg.⁵⁾ They finally joined the Saxons.⁶⁾

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 572.

2) Ibid. p. 573.

3) Ibid. p. 575.

4) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 324.

5) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 573.

6) Much: Deutsche Stammeskunde, p. 115.

Somewhere in the region close to the Northwestern Carpathian Mountains the Langobards fought with the Huns, called Bulgarians in the Langobard saga. This happened at about the beginning of the 5th century.¹⁾ Shortly before the occupation of the land of the Rugians the Langobards must have stayed for some time somewhere not very far from this area, perhaps in the valley of the Upper Morave and in adjoining valleys (see Map 57), that is between the Carpathian and Sudeten Mountains on the one side and the Moravian hills on the other. The Langobards remained for 10 years in Lower Austria.²⁾ (See Map 57). Here they were converted to the Arian form of Christianity, either by Rugian missionaries who had remained there or by Gothic missionaries. And here they were conquered by the neighbouring Heruli, who, since the division of the Empire of the Huns, had been living in the area between the Morava and the Eipel.³⁾ (See Map 49). The Langobards had to pay tribute to the Heruli. For this reason, according to Kossinna⁴⁾ they left Lower Austria and moved into the Hungarian Plains between the Upper Theiss and the Danube, in the area now called Alföld.⁵⁾ (See Map 58). Here they grew in strength and finally, according to Schmidt⁶⁾ in about 505 A.D., according to Kossinna⁷⁾ in 508 A.D. they met and destroyed the Heruli in a great battle. This

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 575.

2) Ibid. p. 578.

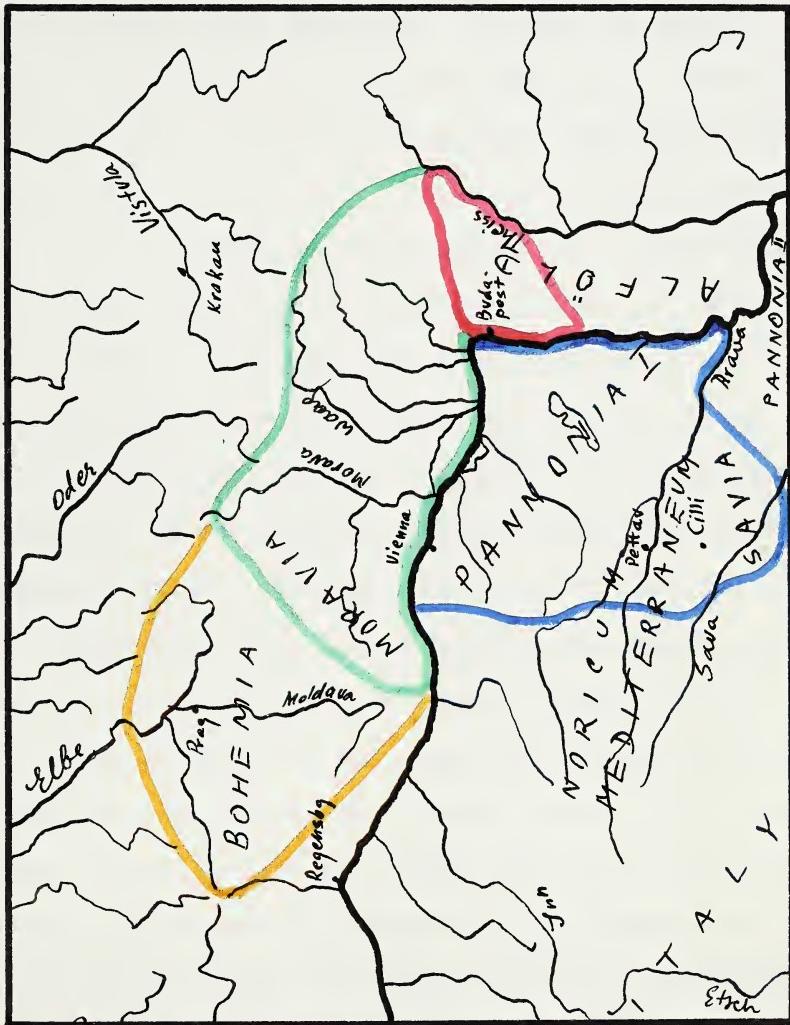
3) Ibid. p. 551.

4) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 324.

5) Ibid. and Schmidt: op. cit. p. 578.

6) Schmidt: ibid.

7) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 324.



Map 58.

red	498	-	568	A.D.
green	505	-	"	"
orange	535	-	"	"
blue	546	-	"	"

started a period of great prosperity for the Langobards. They were courted now by the Franks, Thuringians, Gepidae, Ostrogoths and the Eastern Roman Empire. During the reign of Wacho the Langobards conquered the Svebians in Northern Hungary, drove the rest of the Heruli out of Upper Austria, and occupied this territory, as well as Moravia and Bohemia.¹⁾ (See Map 58). All this took place between 510 and 540 A.D. The occupation of Bohemia must have taken place after the year 531 A.D., since up to this time the country had been occupied by the Thuringians.²⁾ (See Map 58). In 546 A.D., according to Schmidt³⁾, 548 A.D. according to Kossinna⁴⁾, the Langobards made a treaty with the Emperor and obtained from him a grant of Pannonia I and the eastern part of Noricum (see Map 58), the areas from which the Goths had moved shortly before. Kossinna⁵⁾ thinks that the acquisition of these new areas caused also the evacuation of Bohemia and Moravia. Schmidt⁶⁾, however, thinks that such an evacuation did not take place. The view of Schmidt is accepted here. In any case the Langobards appear to have occupied Pannonia I, the eastern part of Noricum mediterraneum, the districts of Pettau and Cilli, Savia and these parts of Pannonia II which were not occupied by the Gepidae.⁷⁾ (See Map 58). Thus the Emperor let the Langobards endanger the interests of the Franks in Noricum and of the Gepidae in Sirmium. There were hostilities between the Langobards

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 578.

2) Ibid. pp. 578 and 579.

3) Ibid. p. 580.

4) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 325.

5) Ibid.

6) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 580.

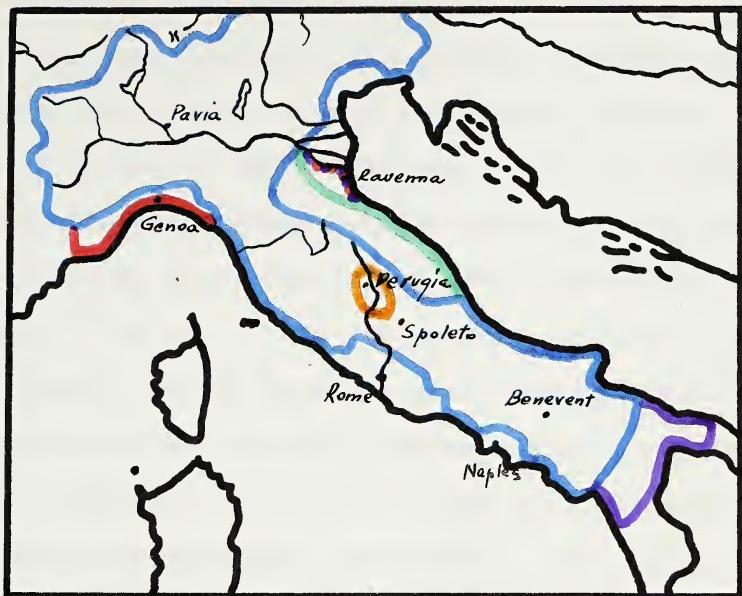
7) Ibid.

and the Gepidae in the years 547 and 549 A.D. (see p.51). In 551 A.D. the Langobards defeated the Gepidae but the Emperor intervened and in the treaty which was arranged no territorial changes took place.¹⁾ (See page 51). Between the Langobards and the Empire there now existed good relations; they furnished the Romans with some auxiliary troops in 552 and 553 A.D. But after 553 A.D. they allied themselves with the Franks against the Emperor, with whom from now on the Gepidae made an alliance. In 565 A.D. the Langobards again defeated the Gepidae, but were themselves defeated in 566 A.D. by the Byzantine forces.²⁾ Following these events the Langobards allied themselves with the Avars and in the year 567 A.D. they completely defeated and annihilated the Gepidian army. The territory of the Gepidae was now occupied by the Avars, who, however, had not arrived in time for the battle.³⁾ Thereupon the Langobards, realizing the great danger from their new neighbour and ally, moved in 568 A.D., under their king Alboin, into Italy. They followed the Roman military road which went through the Julian Alps, the same road used already by the Ostrogoths. In a series of battles and sieges they occupied Italy except the costal area of Istria, Venetia, Aemilia (with the city of Ravenna), Pentapolis and Picenum, Rome and the surrounding ^Acostal territory, Perugia with a series of castles (forming thus a sort

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 581.

2) Ibid. p. 583.

3) Ibid.



Map 59.

blue	568 - 774 A.D.
orange	57/80 - " "
red	640 - " "
violet	670 - " "
green	727 - " "
violet/red	750 - " "

of bridge between the imperial territories around Rome and on the Adriatic shores), Naples with a small surrounding area, Maritima Italorum (with Genoa), southern parts of Appulia and Lucania as well as Calabria, Brutti and the island of Sicily.¹⁾ There followed a very long period of almost continuous warfare between the Langobards and the imperial troops stationed in the areas mentioned above. Sometime at the end of the 6th century A.D. the Langobards took Perugia making thus the land communication between the Mediterranean and Adriatic shores occupied by the imperial troops extremely difficult. In 640 A.D. the Langobards took Maritima Italorum; in 670 A.D. - the south of Appulia and Lucania as well as the northern part of Calabria; in 727 A.D. - Pentapolis and Aemilia; in 750 A.D. - Ravenna with the surrounding area. In the meantime they were gradually converted to the Catholic creed of Christianity. Before the invasion of the Franks they already mixed with the native Italian population and gave to the Northern Italy its modern name - Lombardy. In 774 A.D. the Franks invaded Italy and annexed the greater part of it to their Empire. (For all the territorial changes in Italy see Map 59).

1) Poole: Historical Atlas of Modern Europe, Italy in the Lombard Period, A.D. 568 - 774. (All further information in this chapter is taken from the same source).

Chapter 11

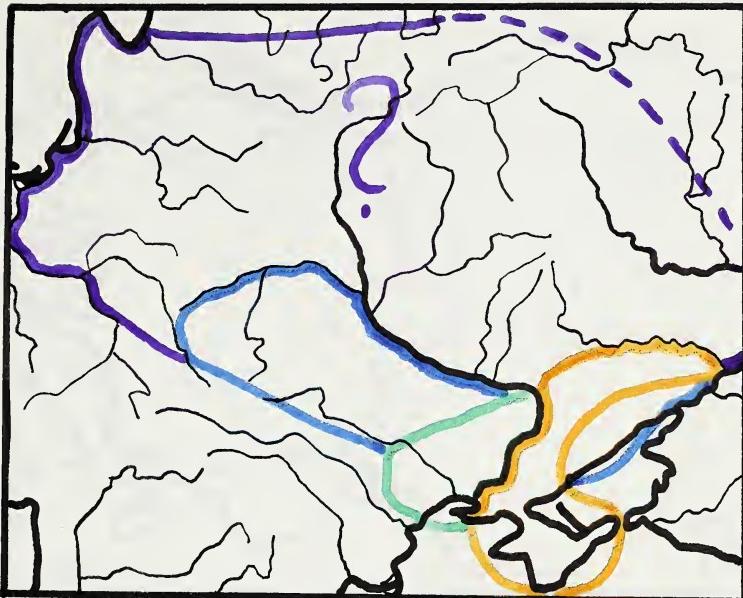
THE OSTROGOTHS¹⁾

After the Visigoths expended over former Roman Dacia the Ostrogoths must have gradually spread westward, occupying the territories vacated by the Visigoths. in the 4th century A.D. the border between them would seem to have been the Dniestr. (See Map 60). In the 3rd quarter of this century Hermanarich organized a great empire, composed of the conquered Heruli, Slavs, Aistes, Finns, a part of the Alans on the right bank of the Don, and possibly some of the Visigoths. (See Map 60). However there is some uncertainty about the extent of this Ostrogothic Empire at this time. Its extent and power may have been the result of epic exaggeration in the Gothic Saga as narrated by Cassiodorus -- Jordanes, and many of the tribes may have been very loosely under Gothic control.

In 375 A.D. the Huns destroyed the Empire of Hermanarich. The majority of the Ostrogoths remained under Hunnish domination (see Map 61). Sections of them escaped under Alatheus and Safrac and joined the Visigoths over the Danube. This detachment settled in 380 A.D. in Pannonia I. (See Map 61). Other detachment was settled by the Romans in Asia Minor. (See Map 61). In 399 A.D. these Ostrogoths organized an insurrection and devastated Phrygia, Pisidia and Pamphylia, crossed them²⁾ into Europe and eventually disappeared. (See Map 62).

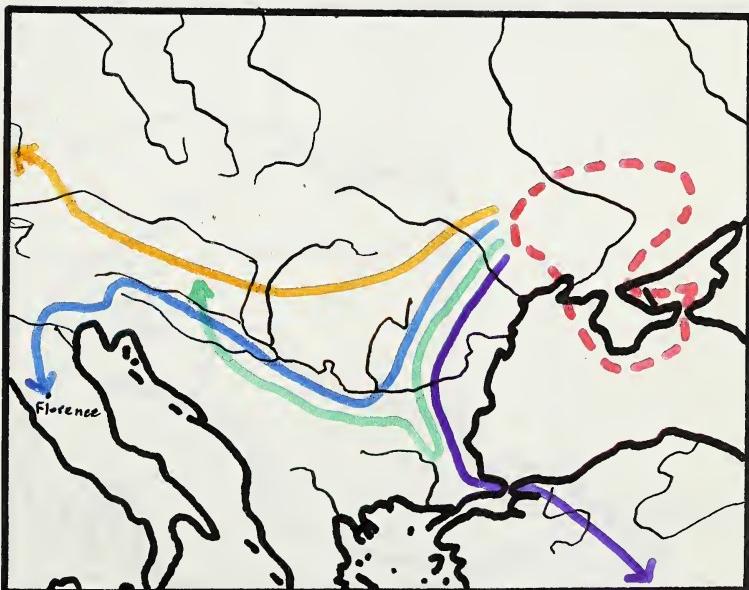
In 406 A.D. the Ostrogoths furnished the majority of the troops with which Radagais invaded Italy, where they

1) See the foot note 3) on page 58.



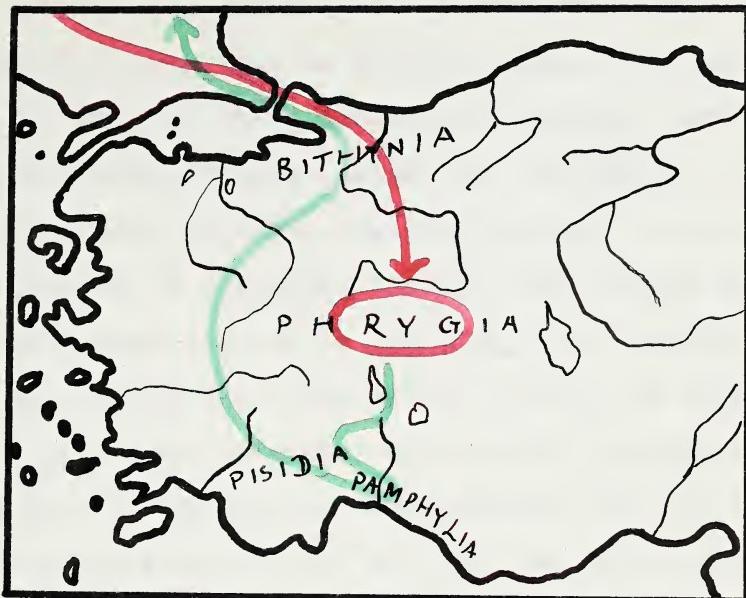
Map 60.

orange	270 - 375 A.D.
green	300 (?) - " "
blue	350 - " "
violet	370 (?) - " "



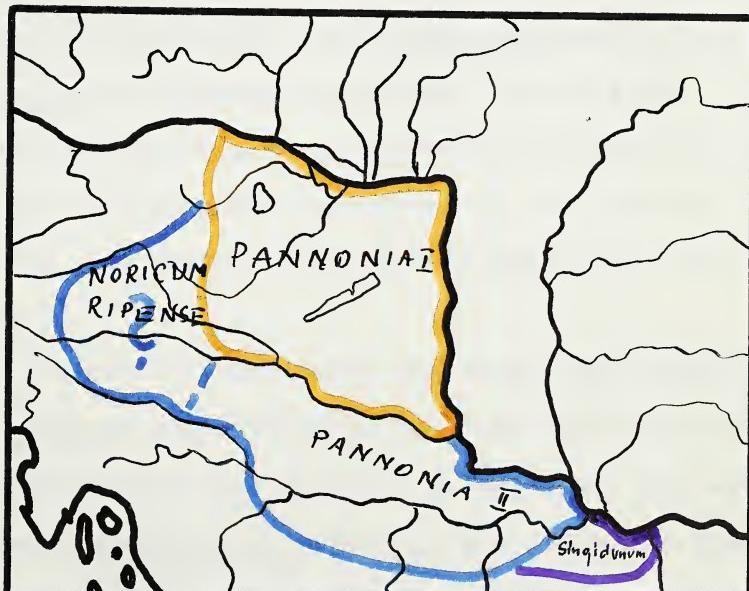
Map 61.

red	375 - 455 A.D.	
green	Alatheus & Safrac	376 - 380 A.D.
violet	Odotheus	"
blue	Radagais	386
orange	with the Huns to France	405
		"
		451



Map 62.

red 386 - 399 A.D.
green 399 - Tribigild.



Map 63.

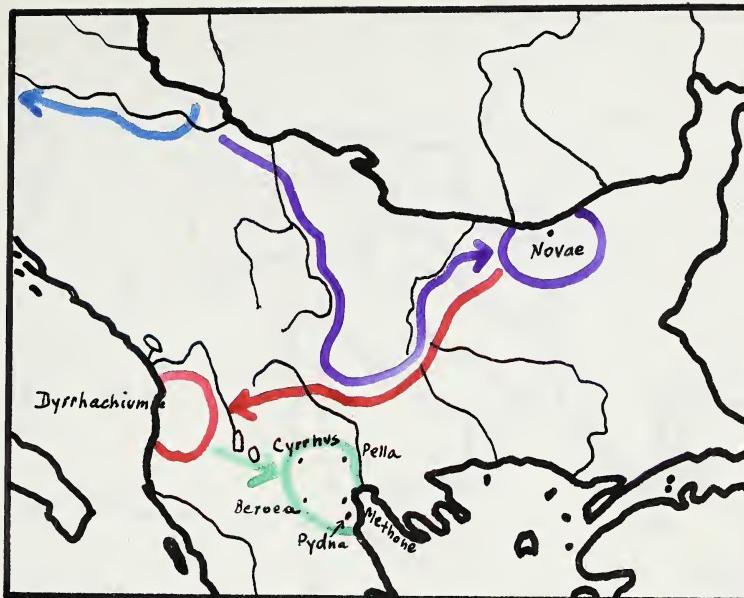
orange 455 - 471 A.D.
blue 459 - " "
violet 470 - " "

were defeated by Stilicho. (See Map 61).

In 451 A.D. the Ostrogoths furnished large contingents to Atilla's army when he invaded France. (See Map 61).

In 453 A.D. there occurred the general insurrection of the Germanic tribes against the suzerainty of the Huns; the Ostrogoths probably remained neutral. In 455 A.D. they were settled as foederati first of the Western and later of the Eastern Emperor in Pannonia I (or inferior). (See Map 63). In 459 A.D. they raided Illyria and annexed Pannonia II (modern Slavonia) and probably Noricum ripense. (See Map 63). In 470 A.D. they annexed the area around Singidunum. (See Map 63). In 471 A.D. the Ostrogoths changed their location; one part of the tribe under Widimer crossed Northern Italy and in 473 A.D. joined the Visigoths in France. (See Map 64); another part under Thiudemer and later under his son Theodoric the Great penetrated into the valley of the Morava. From there they moved into Moesia inferior and settled around the city of Novae. (See Map 64). There followed a series of treaties between the Emperor either with Theodoric the Great or his opponent Theodoric Strabo, the leader of the Gothic mercenary troops of the Empire.

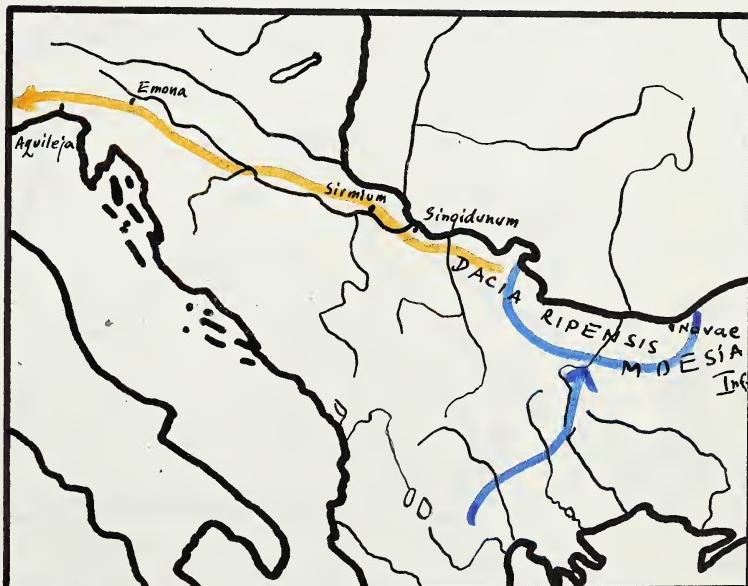
In 479 A.D. Theodoric the Great moved with his Goths into Epirus and settled in the area around Dyrrachium (modern Durazzo). (See Map 64). In 481 A.D. they moved again through Macedonia and Thessaly and after the siege of The-salonice settled in Macedonia in the area around Cyrrus,



Map 64.

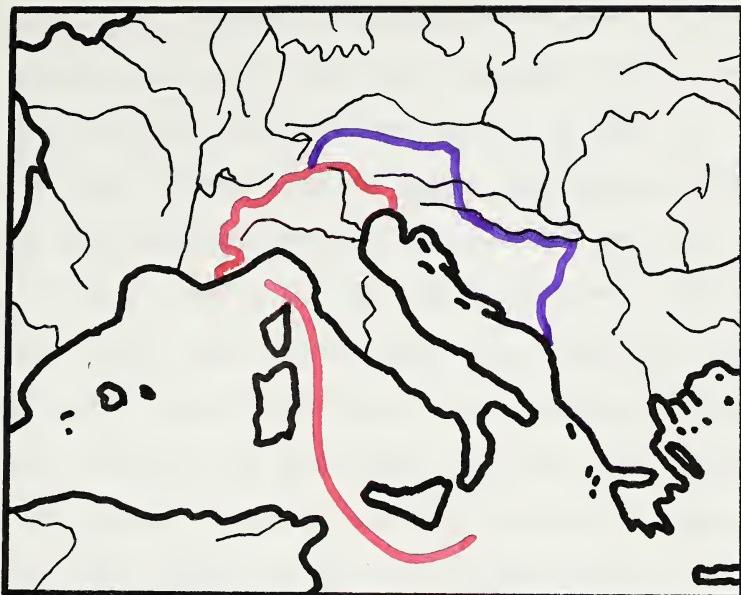
violet
red
green
blue

471 - 479 A.D.
479 - 481 "
481 - 483 "
Widimer to Italy and Gaul (arrived in 473).



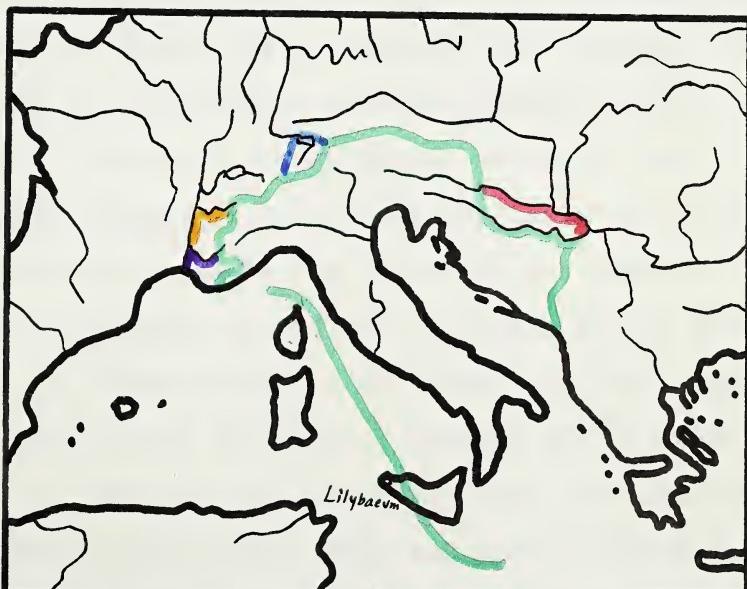
Map 65.

483 - 488 A.D.



Map 66.

red 492 - 500 A.D.
violet 497 - " "



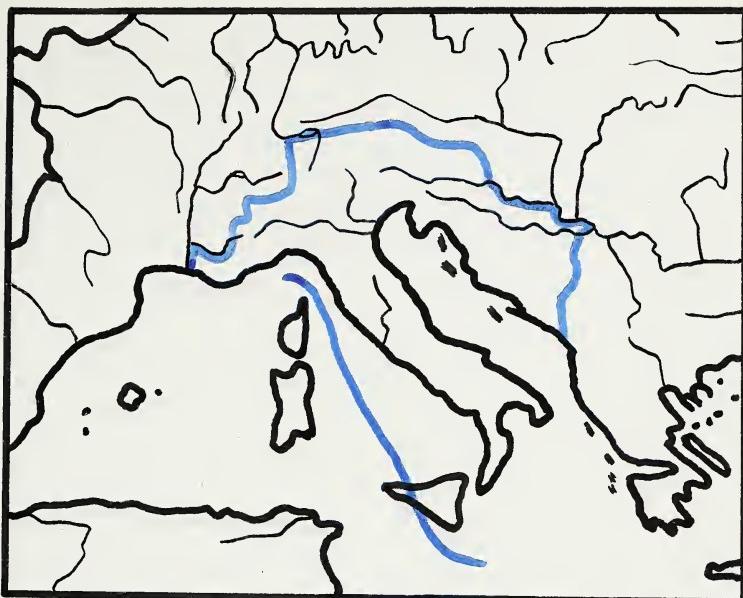
Map 67.

green 500 - 530 A.D. violet 508 - 530 A.D.
blue 502 - " " orange 523 - " "
red 504 - " "

Pella, Europus, Methone, Pydna and Berea. (See Map 64). From this base Theodoric defeated Rekitach, son of Theodoric Strabo, and after this the remnants of the Goths of Rekitach joined Theodoric the Great. In 483 A.D. the Ostrogoths were given land in Dacia ripensis and Moesia inferior with headquarters at Novae. (See Map 65).

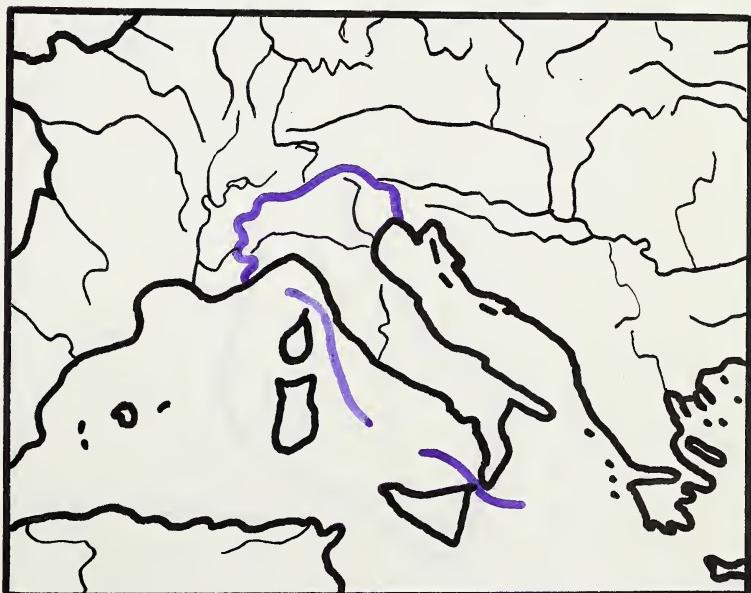
In 488 - 489 A.D. the Ostrogoths were led by Theodoric into Italy. The route which they followed was the Roman military road from Novae to Singidunum, Sirmium, Emona (modern Leibach) and Aquileja. (See Map 65). After a series of battles with Odoacer the Ostrogoths became masters of Italy and Sicily in 493 A.D. (See Map 66). In 497 A.D. Theodoric was formally recognized by the Eastern Emperor. As the successor of the Emperor of the West his power extended also over Istria, Dalmatia, Savia, Noricum mediterraneum, Rhaetia I and Rhaetia II with the exception of that part which was occupied by the Alemanni. (See Map 66). In 502 A.D. Theodoric took the Alemanni in the remaining part of Rhaetia II under his protection. (See Map 67).

Pannonia Sirmensis (with the exception of the area around Bassiana occupied by the troops of the Emperor) was taken from the Gepidae in 504 A.D. (See Map 67). In 508 A.D. the part of Provence between the Rhone and the Durance plus the area around the city of Avignon was annexed. (See Map 67). In 523 A.D. the Ostrogoths took the land of the Burgundians south of the Isère and east of the Rhone. In 530 A.D. they restored it back to the Burgundians. (See Maps



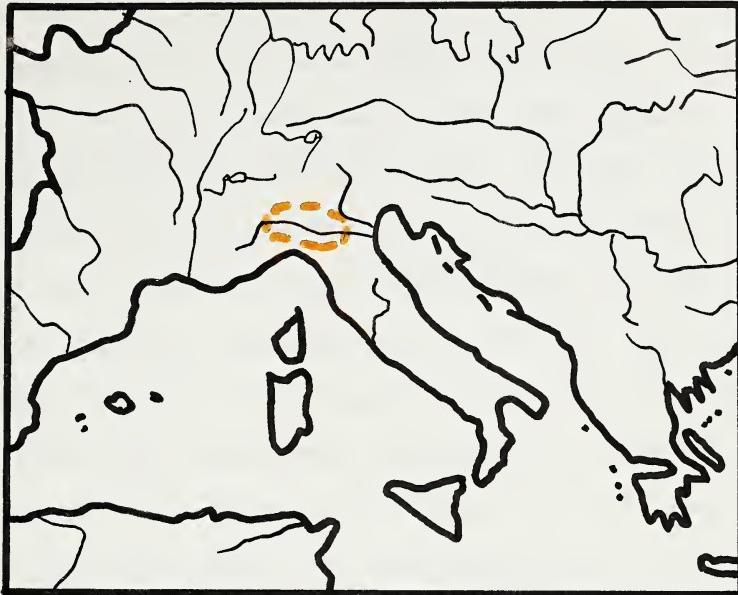
Map 68.

530 - 535 A.D.



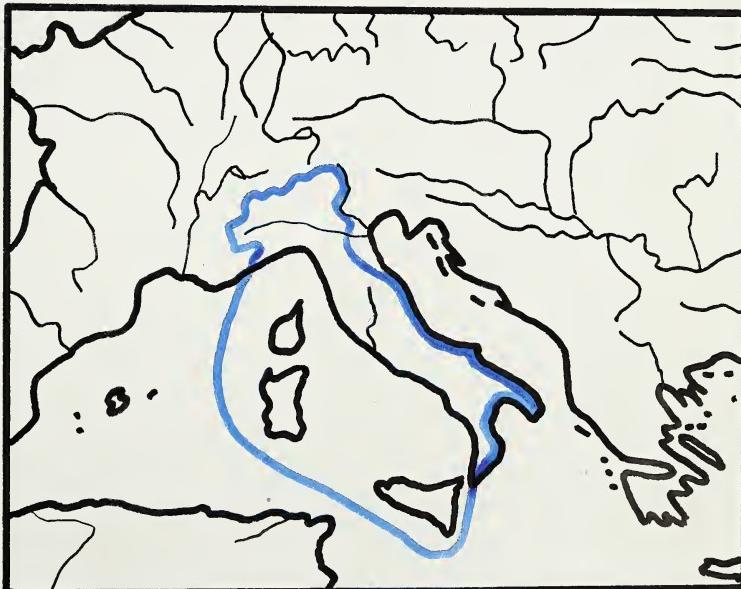
Map 69.

535/6 - 540 A.D.



Map 70.

540 - 541 A.D.



Map 71.

541 - 552 A.D.

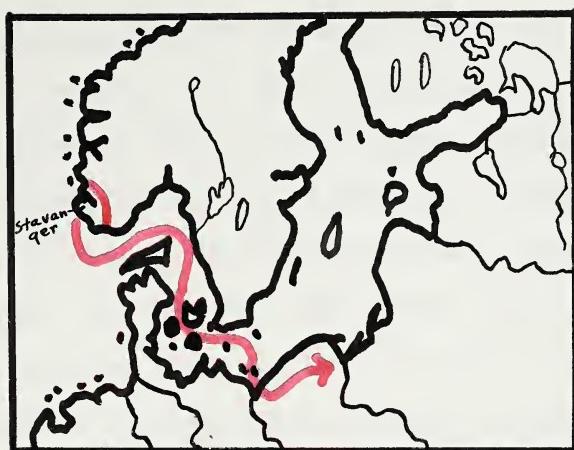
67 and 68). In 536 A.D. the Ostrogothic troops were evacuated from the possessions outside of Italy to fight against the armies of the Eastern Empire. The Goths suffered a series of serious defeats and by 540 the remnants of them camped somewhere in Northern Italy. (See Map 70). But starting with 541 A.D., under their new king Totila they brought under their control almost ^{the} whole ^{of} Italy and even occupied Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica in 549 A.D. (See Map 71). The Emperor, however, was finally victorious. In 552 - 553 A.D. the Goths were decisively defeated. The survivors retreated to the north of Italy, where they succeeded in holding out until 555 A.D. After this the Ostrogoths disappear from history.

Chapter 12

THE RUGIANS

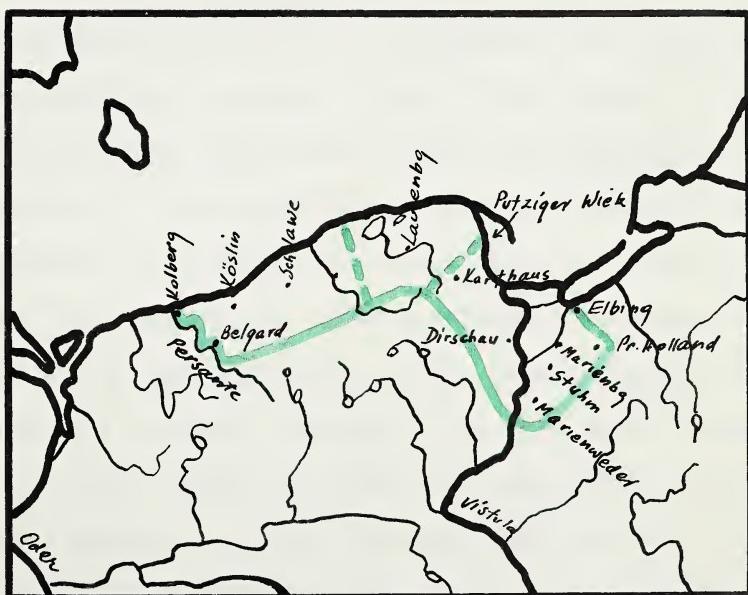
The problem of the original home of the Rugians has not yet been satisfactorily solved. Schmidt¹⁾ thinks it is to be sought in Southwestern Norway, in Stavanger district. In later times people of this same name are found in this region, as well as many related place - names. Nerman²⁾ points out that no archaeological proof for such an assumption has been found, but he regards this hypothesis as not improbable. Kossinna³⁾ also thinks that they came from Norway. Much⁴⁾, however assumes that the appearance of the Rugians in Norway in later times is due to the migration of this tribe from Northeastern Germany, their original homeland into Norway. The name of the tribe is a cognate for the word rye 'Roggen', a knowledge of which the Rugians acquired from the Lithuanians and brought with them to Norway. But Almgren⁵⁾ and with him Schmidt⁶⁾ thinks that the presence of the Rugians in Norway in later times is due to a re-immigration of a part of the tribe into the old territories, as was the case with the Heruli, too. For the purpose of this thesis I am accepting the Hypothesis of the homeland of the Rugians in Stavanger, Norway.

- 1) Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme, Vol. I, p. 117.
- 2) Nerman: Die Herkunft und die frühesten Auswanderungen der Germanen, p. 41.
- 3) Kossinna: Die deutsche Vorgeschichte, p. 144.
- 4) Hoops: Reallexik.d.German.Altertumskunde, Vol.IV, p. 4.
- 5) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 117.
- 6) Ibid.



Map 72.

Schmidt 150 B.C.



Map 73.

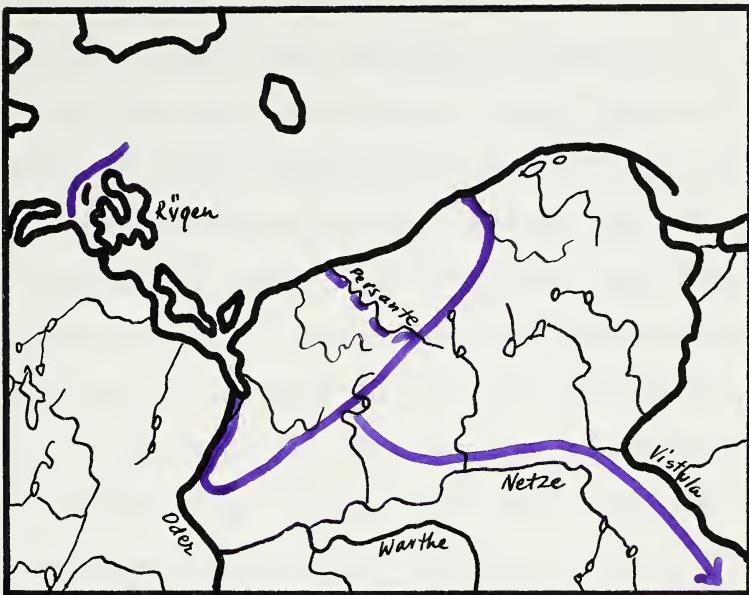
150 B.C. - 0

From this area the Rugians emigrated in about 150 B.C.¹⁾, landed at the mouth of the Oder and moved eastward into Hinterpommern and the area around the mouth of the Vistula. (See Map 72). The furthest eastern point occupied by them was Elbing. The eastern branch of the tribe occupied the districts of Karthaus, Danziger Höhe, Dirschau, Marienweder, Marienburg, Stuhm, Prussian Holland and Elbing. (See Map 73). The middle branch occupied the area of Putziger Wiek and the district of Lauenburg. (See Map 73). To the western branch belonged the districts of Stolp, Schlawe, Köslin and Belgard as well as Kolberg. (See Map 73) The Vandals who held this land up to this time, were forced to retreat further south. At about the beginning of the present era the eastern group was overrun by the arriving Goths. (See Map 40). The Rugians were probably not exterminated but continued to live there as a subject class of the Goths, or were in part absorbed. They were called the Holmrugii by the Goths. According to Kossinna²⁾ the western branch of the Rugians continued to inhabit its territory. The middle group, however, shifted slowly under pressure from the Goths, sometime after the beginning of the present era, moving westwards and carrying probably with them some elements of the western branch. In this way they came to occupy the land between the Upper Persante and the Lower Oder as well as the island of Rügen which they took in about 200 A.D.³⁾

1) Strasser: Die Nordgermanen, p. 13.

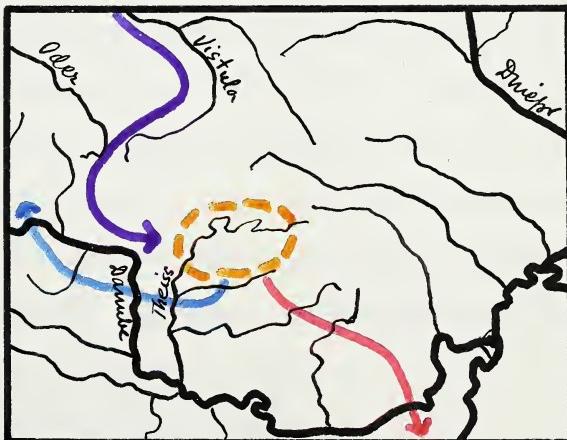
2) Kossinna: German.Kultur im I.Jahrtausen⁴n.Chr., p. 228.

3) Ibid.



Map 74.

0 - 350 A.D.



Map 75.

400 - 453 A.D.

(See Map 74). The Burgundians who occupied these areas before the Rugians, retreated to their major tribal areas between the Vistula and the Middle Warthe. (See Map 18). From these new areas the rugians began their movement south in about 350 A.D., according to Schmidt¹⁾, in about 300 A.D., or at the beginning of the 4th century, according to Nerman.²⁾ Schmidt's view is accepted here. They probably moved up the Vistula, crossed the Carpathian Mountains, and settled down, apparently in the areas around the Upper Theiss.³⁾ (See Map 75). This was the land which was left by the Vandals about 400 A.D. In these areas the Rugians were conquered by the Huns, but were allowed to have their own kings. Thus it happened that they accompanied, as auxiliary troops, the Huns in a raid into the Eastern Roman areas in the year 435 A.D., as well as participated in the raid of the Huns into France in 451 A.D.⁴⁾

In 453 A.D. after the destruction of the Empire of the Huns to which they also contributed, the Rugians occupied the land north of the Middle Danube, opposite the Roman province Noricum ripense, the Lower Austria of today.⁵⁾ (See Map 76). Here they were converted, under the influence of the neighbouring Goths, to the Arian form of Christianity.⁶⁾ Another, considerably smaller part of the

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 119.

2) Nerman: op. cit. p. 59.

3) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 119.

4) Ibid.

5) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 232, and Schmidt: Ibid.

6) Kossinna: Ibid.

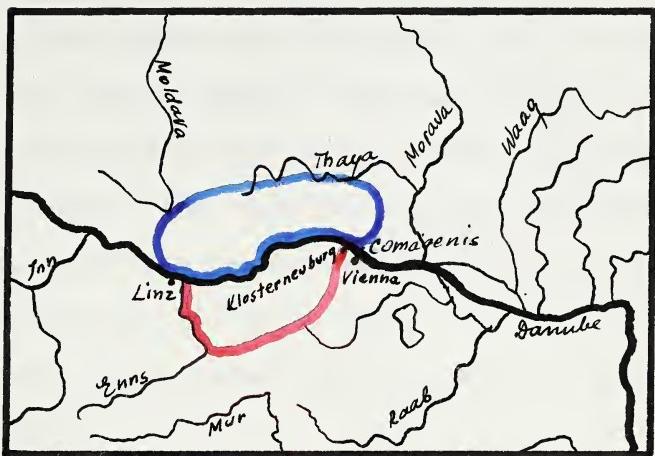
tribe crossed after the destruction of the Hunnish Empire the Eastern Roman border and was allowed by the Romans to settle in Thrace, in the districts of Bizye and Arcadiopolis.¹⁾ (See Map 75). The main part of the Rugians in Lower Austria participated in 469 A.D. in an alliance formed by many Germanic and Non-Germanic tribes against the Ostrogoths in Pannonia. The allies were defeated. It was not until 471 A.D. that the Rugians were freed from the constant Gothic danger, the year in which the Goths left Pannonia.²⁾ After 475 A.D. the Rugians occupied Noricum ripense as far west as the Emms and as far east as Klosterneuburg at Vienna. (See Map 76). On the northern side of the Danube they extended as far east as Comagenis. In the west Emms was outside their area, but further north they extended probably further west than on the southern side of the river.³⁾ (See Map 76). No settlement took place in the province of Noricum; only military strongholds were occupied.

In 487 A.D. the Rugian king Feletheus was about to invade Italy, but Odoacer marched into Rugian territory and defeated the Rugians completely. In 488 A.D., as Friedrich, son of Feletheus, assumed leadership of the Rugians, Odoacer sent a new expedition and defeated them again. The remnants of the tribe fled to Novae and there came under the protection of Theodoric the Great. (See

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 119.

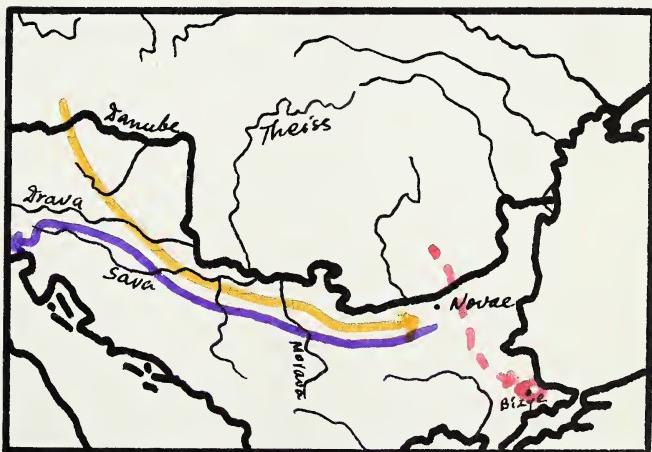
2) Ibid., p. 120.

3) Ibid.



Map 76.

blue 453 - 488 A.D.
red 475 - " "



Map 77.

488 A.D. -

Map 77). With the Ostrogoths these Rugians moved in 488 A.D. into Italy (see Map 77) and in 490 A.D. were responsible for the occupation of Pavia. They then turned against the Goths, allied themselves with Tufa, one of Odoacer's generals, but soon a quarrel broke out and in a bloody battle Tufa was defeated by the Rugians. After this they returned to the alliance with Theodoric. In the distribution of land, made in Italy by Theodoric, the Rugians were treated as a separate unit.¹⁾ Later along with the Ostrogoths the Rugians were annihilated by the armies of the Eastern Roman Empire.

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 123.

Chapter 13

THE SKIRI

There are two quite different views about the original homeland of the Skiri. Schmidt¹⁾ thinks that their homeland is to be thought in the area east of the Upper Vistula where they are located by Pliny the Elder (about 50 A.D. But we know from the psephisma that was erected in honor of protogenes who helped to rebuild the fortifications of the city of Olbia, that the Skiri along with the Galatians in about 220 B.C. threatened but failed to take the city by assault.²⁾ Much³⁾ suggests that by Galatians we might understand the Bastarnae or perhaps some Celtic tribe. Schmidt⁴⁾ thinks that these Skiri who attacked Olbia were only a part of the main tribe, and that after this raid they returned to the main body situated east of the Upper Vistula where they are mentioned as being by the Laterculus Veronensis, that is, at the beginning of the 4th century. (See Map 78). Much⁵⁾ thinks that perhaps the Skiri and the Bastarnae are branches of the same tribe, the Bastarnae being a mixed branch of the tribe. He also holds that the Sidones, a tribe of the Bastarnae that remained at the headwaters of the Vistula, were probably absorbed by the Skiri.⁶⁾ Arldt⁷⁾ takes issue with

1) Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme, Vol. I, p. 87.

2) Ibid. p. 88

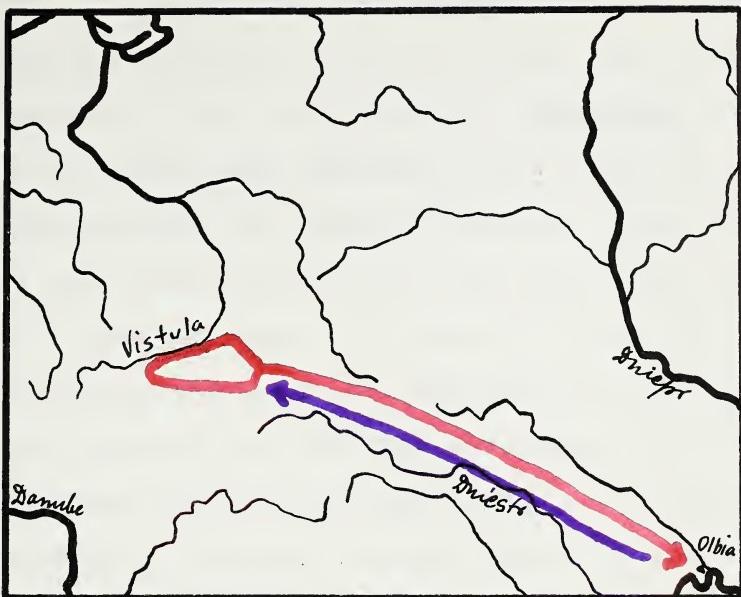
3) Much: Deutsche Stammeskunde, p. 126 and p. 127.

4) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 97.

5) Much: op. cit. p. 127.

6) Ibid.

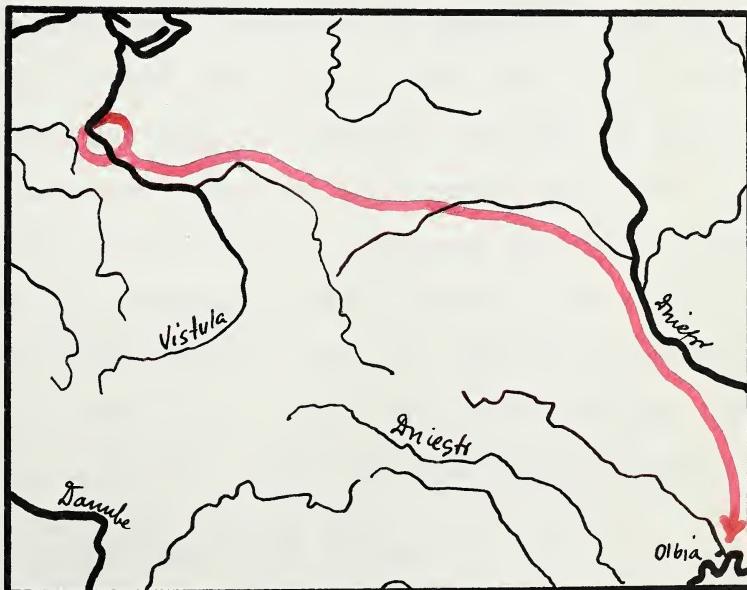
7) Arldt: Germanische Völkerwellen, p. 152.



Map 78.

Schmidt

300 B.C. - 453 A.D.



Map 79.

Arldt

150 - 453 A.D.

Schmidt's statement about the original homeland of the Skiri. In his opinion their homeland was in Pomerania, in the area around the city of Thorn. Here they were neighbours of the Rugians and the Torcilingi. In company with the Goths they migrated to the areas north of the Black Sea about the middle of the 2nd century A.D., where they were later conquered by the Huns. (See Map 79). Much¹⁾ does not agree with this solution. Others who have studied the problem do not even mention this possibility. I am accepting the view that the Skiri are a tribe first encountered in the area east of the Upper Vistula; they existed as a separate tribe at about the same time as the Bastarnae emerged as such. From this area a part of the tribe in company with the Bastarnae made a raid against the Greek colony of Olbia, after which they returned home, the Bastarnae remaining in the steppes north and east of the Black Sea. According to Schmidt²⁾ the Skiri were still in the same areas at the time of the Hunnish conquest. The Skiri accompanied the Huns as auxiliary troops in a winter raid into the territories of the Empire in 380/81 or 381/82 A.D., crossing the frozen Lower Danube, but were defeated by the Imperial troops.³⁾ We hear about them again in 408 - 409 A.D. They now formed a considerable part of the troops led by the Hunnish chieftain Uldin who made a raid into the Roman provinces of ~~Dacia~~ Dacia.

1) Much: op. cit. p. 127.

2) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 97.

3) Ibid.

ripensis and Thrace. The attack was beaten back by the Romans, the Skiri suffering considerable losses.¹⁾ In 451 A.D. the Skirian warriors accompanied Atilla into France.²⁾ They must have participated actively in 453 A.D. in the struggle that ended with the destruction of the Hunnish Empire. After the victory a smaller part of the tribe sought entrance into Roman territories and was settled, together with the Sadagarians and the Alans, in the provinces of Scythia minor and Moesia inferior.³⁾ (See Map 80). The main part of the tribe migrated into the area north of the Middle Danube, between the Waag and the Little Carpathians.⁴⁾ (See Map 81).

The Swebian king Hunimund incited them against the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, but they were beaten back.⁵⁾ To avenge their defeat the Skiri, under their duke Edica and his son Hunwulf, allied themselves with the Swebians of Hunimund, the Rugians, Gepidae, Heruli and Sarmatae, to which coalition the Roman Emperor also added a contingent. The armies of this coalition invaded Gothic territory again, but were again defeated in a great battle on the Bolia river in Pannonia (the exact location of the river is not known).⁶⁾ This happened in 469 A.D. Edica seems to have fallen in the battle. His son Hunwulf went to Constantinople where he had a successful military career. Edica's second son Odoacer entered the Imperial

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 97

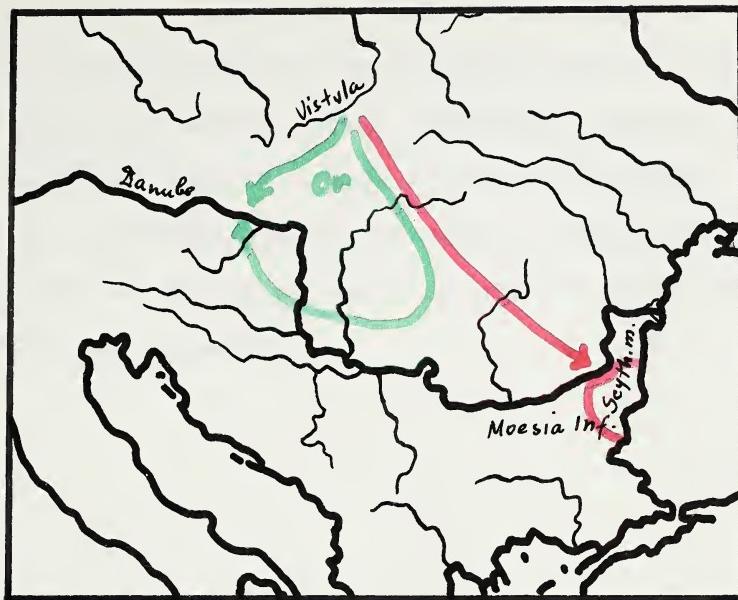
2) Ibid. p. 98.

3) Hoops: Reallexik.d.German. Altertumskunde, Vol. IV, p. 191.

4) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 98.

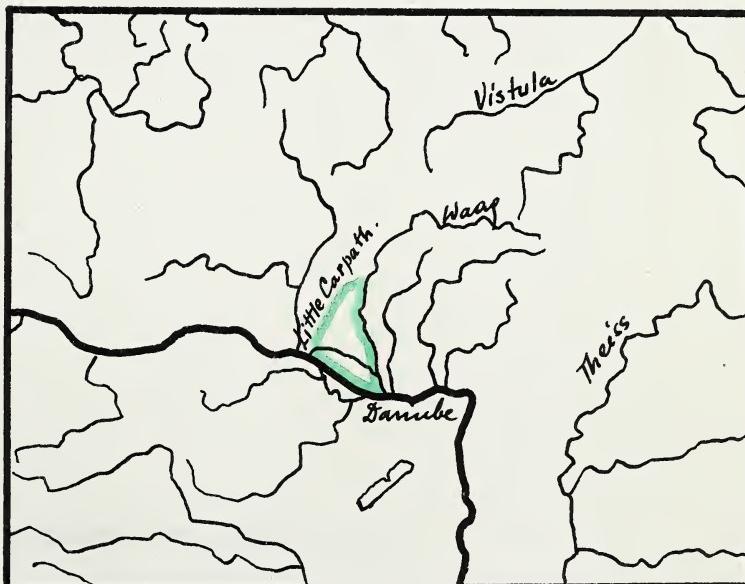
5) Ibid.

6) Ibid.



green
red

453 A.D.
" - ?



453 - 469 A.D.

bodyguard of the Eastern Emperor in which connection he appears to be mentioned for the first time in 472 A.D.¹⁾ The scattered remnants of the Skiri were absorbed by the neighbouring tribes, their territory occupied probably by the ^{Heruli}(see page 63). Many of them took refuge among the Romans where they joined the army. Nothing is known about the fate of the Skiri who were settled south of the Lower Danube (see page 87).

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 99.

Chapter 14

THE TAIFALI

The Taifali were a small Germanic tribe whose history was closely linked with that of the Visigoths. Schmidt¹⁾ thinks that we can assume their relationship with the Visigoths. In the historical records they are mentioned for the first time in 248 A.D., when they participated in a raid into Lower Moesia, undertaken by the Goths under their leaders Argaith and Guntherich.²⁾ Some-time around 250 A.D. they occupied Little Wallachia and parts of Great Wallachia situated in the neighbourhood of the Alt.³⁾ (See Map 82). Because at about the same time there occurred a great depopulation in the land of the Vandals as a result of which Eastern Poland, Eastern Galicia and the eastern parts of Western Galicia were almost emptied of people, Kossinna⁴⁾ suggests that these areas were evacuated by the Taifali, in his opinion a Vandal tribe of the Hasdingian branch. Schmidt⁵⁾ does not accept this view. Much⁶⁾ contents himself with a statement that they were a Germanic tribe without making any further classification. in about 290 A.D. the Taifali and the Visigoths had to withstand an attack of the Vandals and the Gepidae, who were trying to extend their

1) Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme, Vol. I. p.546.

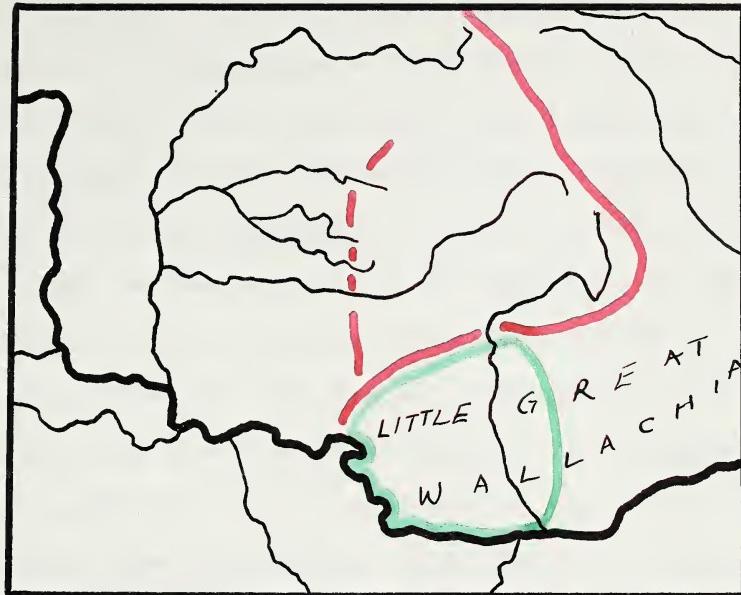
2) Ibid.

3) Ibid. and Kossinna: Germanische Kultur im I. Jahrtausend, pp. 172 and 174.

4) Kossinna: Ibid.

5) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 546.

6) Hoops: Reallexik.d.German. Altertumskunde, Vol.IV, p.305.



Map 82.

250 - 376 A.D.



Map 83.

376 - VI.cent. A.D.

territories. The attack was beaten back. In 332 A.D. the Taifali and the Visigoths again fought together against the Sarmatae and their Roman allies. The latter were finally victorious and in the treaty that followed the Taifali and the Visigoths were recognized in their territories as foederati. As such they fought in 358 A.D. with the Romans against the Sarmatae. In 369 A.D. in a new treaty they appear to have ceased to be foederati, as did also the Goths.¹⁾ Attempting to escape subjugation by the Huns they retreated into Siebenbürgen, but in 376 A.D. were forced out of that area by the Visigoths under Athanarich, also trying to escape the Huns. Thereupon they joined the Visigoths of Farnobius and with the latter invaded Dacia ripense and Thrace.²⁾ (See Map 83). In 377 A.D. these invaders suffered a disastrous defeat by a Roman army under Frigeridus. What was left of the Taifali tribe was settled as prisoners of war in Italy in the areas around Mutina, Regium and Parma.³⁾ (See Map 83). They were still there at the time of the arrival of the Langobards. Some of them must have been transplanted shortly after their settlement in Italy to France, to the region of Poitiers, where they probably became tributary of the Visigoths, who had but newly arrived.⁴⁾ (See Map 83). After 507 A.D. they became subjects to the Franks. In 565 A.D. we hear of them rebelling

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 547.

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid. and p. 548.

against the Bishop of Chantocéaux.¹⁾ They must have been gradually absorbed by the native population.

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 548.

Chapter 15

THE TORCILINGI

This tribe (?) is mentioned only among the auxili-
ary troops of Attila and as being among the Germanic
troops with whom Odoacer overthrew the Western Roman Em-
pire in 476 A.D.¹⁾ Müllenhoft, Schmidt and Much do not
think that they formed a separate tribe, but were rather
one of the noble families of the Skiri.²⁾ Müllenhoft and
Zeuss think they were identical with Ptolomy's Rutikleioi
whom the latter places on the Pommeranian shore, where
the Rugians were.³⁾ Schmidt and Much reject this explana-
tion.⁴⁾

For present purpose I am accepting the view of
Schmidt, Müllenhoft and Much that they were probably only
a noble family - Fürstengeschlecht - of the Skiri and
were not identical with the Rutikleioi of Ptolomy.

1) Hoops: Reallexik.d.German. Altertumskunde, Vol. IV,
p. 332.

2) Ibid. and Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme,
Vol. I, p. 99.

3) Hoops: op. cit. p. 333.

4) Ibid. and Schmidt: op. cit. p. 99.

Chapter 16

THE VANDALS

In respect to the original homeland of the Vandals one encounters perhaps a greater variety of opinions than in the case of any other Eastern Germanic tribe. The various points of view are:

Nerman¹⁾ thinks that during the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, that is, from 750 till 600 B.C. a migration occurred which almost depopulated various regions of the Scandinavian Peninsula. The direction of the migration was towards Northeastern Germany. It is impossible to say whether at this early stage the Vandals participated in this migration movement or not, nor can it be determined from what part of Scandinavia such a group would have come. Nerman lists a number of places in Scandinavia where place names containing the root 'Vendel' might give an indication, as for example, the name of a village in Uppland called Vendel. It is however possible that the name originated on German soil and has something to do with a word for trade as in German Handel und Wandel. In this case the word Vandal would mean merchant, according to a suggestion of Kossinna.²⁾ One of the tribes with such a name could then in turn have given the name to the whole group of related tribes. (See Map 84)

With more certainty, Nerman³⁾ thinks, we can assume

1) Nerman: Die Herkunft und die frühesten Auswanderungen der Germanen, p. 26.

2) Ibid.

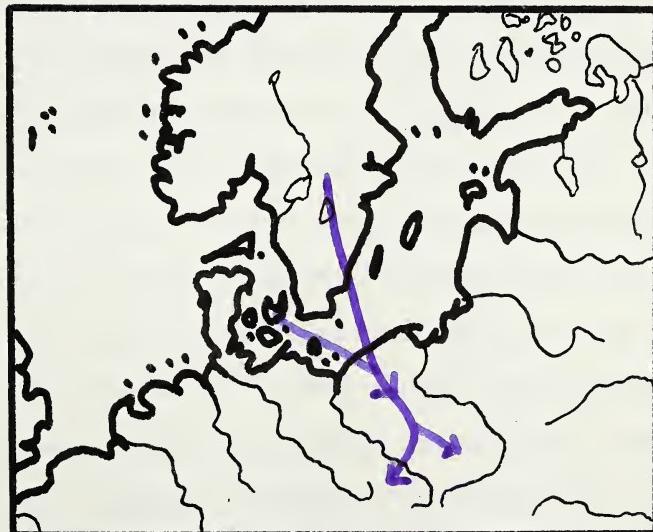
3) Ibid.



Map 84.

Nerman

750/600 B.C.



Map 85.

Schmidt

750 B.C.

that one group of these invaders bore the name Silingi and originated on the island of Seeland. In his opinion from an archaeological point of view the migration of the Silingi, as well as that of the related Vandals, took place at approximately the same time, that is, as stated above, during the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age.¹⁾ As a result of this migration the number of artifacts found on the island of Seeland during the whole of the Pre-Roman Iron Age is unusually small. The same is true for the Scandinavian Peninsula. We witness here a vast depopulation which did not affect only the southwest regions of Norway, the Jutish Peninsula and the islands of Bornholm and Gotland. It is not until the 3rd period of the Iron Age (from 150 B.C. to 0) that there is evidence of an increase of population in Wester-and Öster-götland and on the islands of Öland and Fünen.²⁾

According to Nerman³⁾ it is not possible to trace the migration route of the Silingi in Germany. It is only quite later that they emerge in Silesia.

In regard to the relationship of the Vandals to the Face Urn people Nerman⁴⁾ considers that the evidence at present available is insufficient to justify a conclusion.

In one of his later works⁵⁾ Nerman mentions Northern Jutland as being partially the original homeland of the Vandals (besides Scandinavian peninsula).

1) See climatic chart following Map 8. The deterioration of the climate during this transitional period was one of the main causes of the migration.

2) Nerman: op. cit. p. 18.

3) Ibid. p. 26.

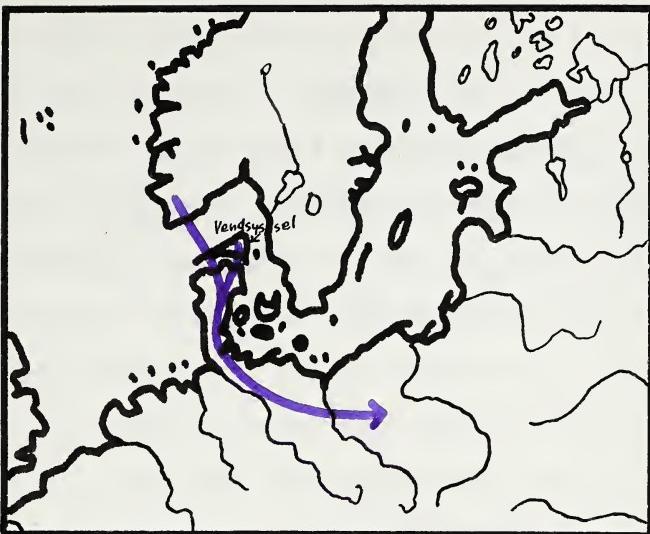
4) Ibid.

5) Nerman: Vandalernas äldsta hem (in Fornvännen Vol. 1930, pp. 365 - 367.

Schmidt's¹⁾ opinion is very similar to that of Nerman's. He derives the Vandals from the Scandinavian Peninsula, and rejects the hypothesis that the original home was in Northern Jutland, in the district now called Vendsyssel. (See Map 85). In favor of the Scandinavian homeland he mentions the relationship between the religious practices of the Lugians and those of Scandinavia.²⁾ He also rejects the dating of the migration as late as the 2nd century B.C.³⁾ If the migration had been as late as this, the Langobards would have had landed in Jutland where, according to the saga of the latter, they had a violent contact with the Vandals. But there is no evidence of the presence of the Langobards at this time in Jutish Peninsula. Schmidt therefore assumes that the Vandals began their migration as early as 750 B.C. and then landed in the mouth of the Vistula. From there they started their expansion into Northeastern Germany and Northwestern Poland, subjecting the Face Urn people in the eastern part of Hinterpommern, West Prussia, the western part of East Prussia, the former Prussian part of Poland and Middle Silesia.⁴⁾ (See Map 91). The mixture of the advancing tribes with the Face Urn people resulted in a new tribal complex - the Vandals, who were the ancestors of the later religious confederation of the Vandals - the Lugians.

In respect to the Silingi Schmidt agrees with Jahn

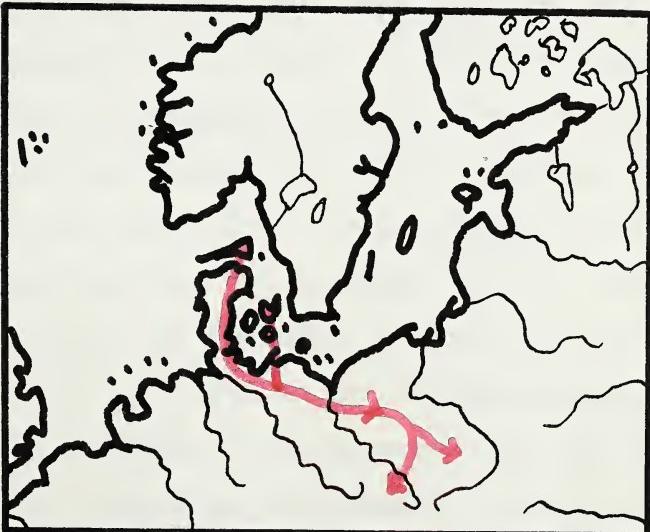
- 1) Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme, Vol. I, p. 83.
- 2) Ibid., foot note 1)
- 3) Ibid.
- 4) Ibid., p. 100.



Map 86.

Much

II.cent. B.C.



Map 87.

Kossinna (late) II.cent.B.C.

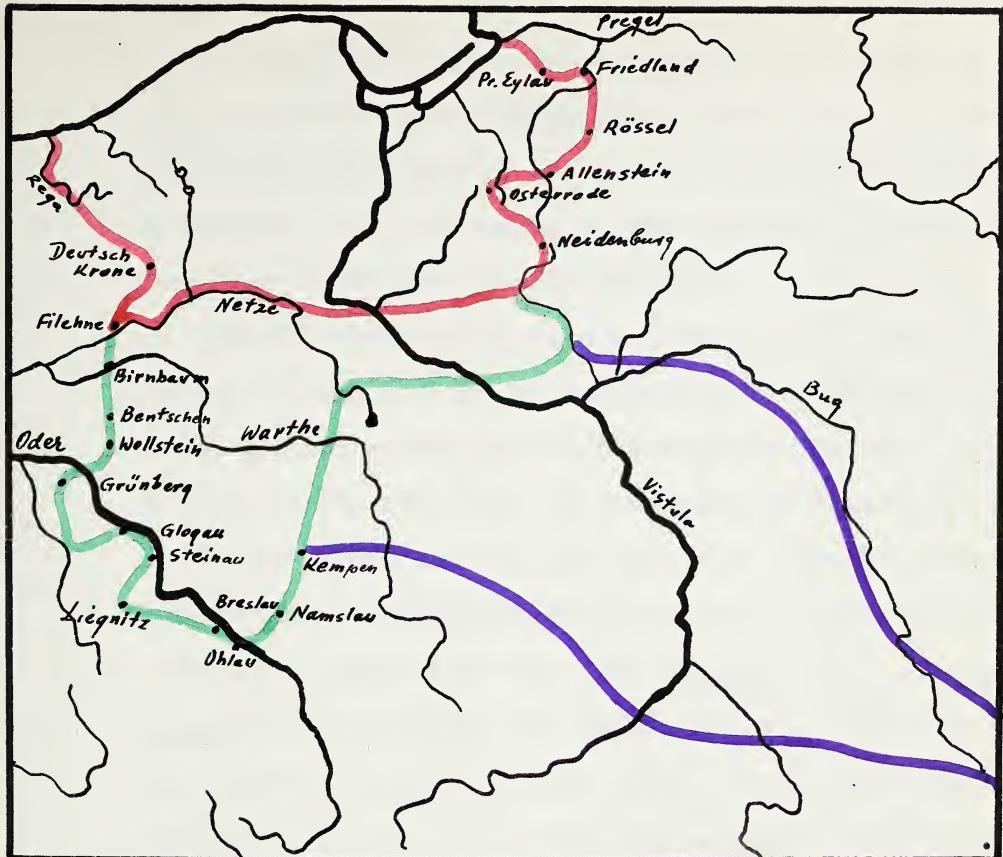
(see later) that they occupied Middle Silesia about the beginning of the present era. He also thinks that they came from Seeland.¹⁾ (See Maps 85 and 91).

Jahn²⁾ takes issue with the opinion that the Vandals migrated so early. According to him the Silingi migrated from Seeland not earlier than the 2nd century B.C. He states that during the 2nd period of the Iron Age the whole Province of Silesia does not show any archaeological evidence, and that consequently during this period - 300 to 150 B.C. - the Face Urn people who previously lived in this area, must have retreated to the main body of the tribe in Posen and Prussia or migrated southwards. At the beginning of Period III of the Iron Age, that is, after 150 B.C. archaeological evidence begins to appear again in Silesia, the artifacts, according to Jahn, belonging to the Face Urn people who came from the north. But at the beginning of the present era there is again an interruption in the archaeological record and new artifacts appear in entirely new cemeteries in Middle Silesia. For Jahn this indicates the arrival of the Silingi. (See Map 89). He thinks that they are identical with an older group which appeared at the beginning of Period III in the Silesian districts of Freystadt and in Niederlausitz and disappeared at the beginning of the present era. (See Map 89). He does however, according to Nerman³⁾, give reasons for this identification of the Niederlausitz group with the ancestors

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 101.

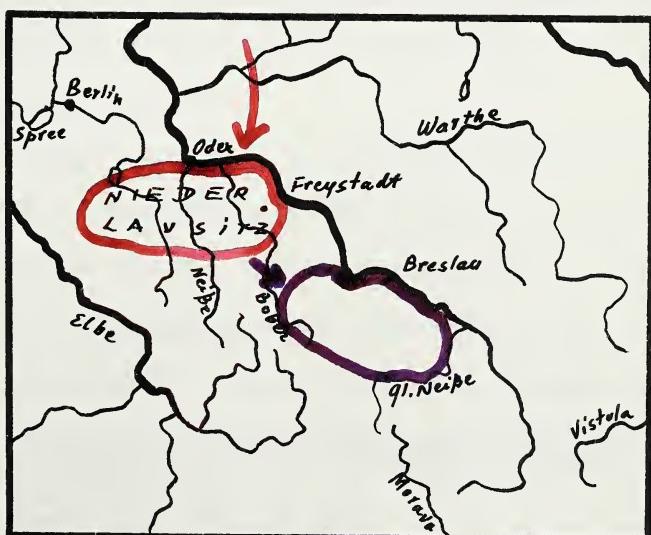
2) Jahn: Zur Herkunft der schlesischen Wandalen (quoted by Nerman: op. cit. p. 23)

3) Nerman: op. cit. p. 25.



Kossinna (early)

Face Urn people



Jahn

red 150 B.C. - 0
violet 0 -

of the Middle Silesian group. Jahn believes that the Silingi migrated into Niederlausitz about 150 B.C. after leaving Seeland shortly before this time. There they remained until the beginning of the present era at which time they moved into Middle Silesia.

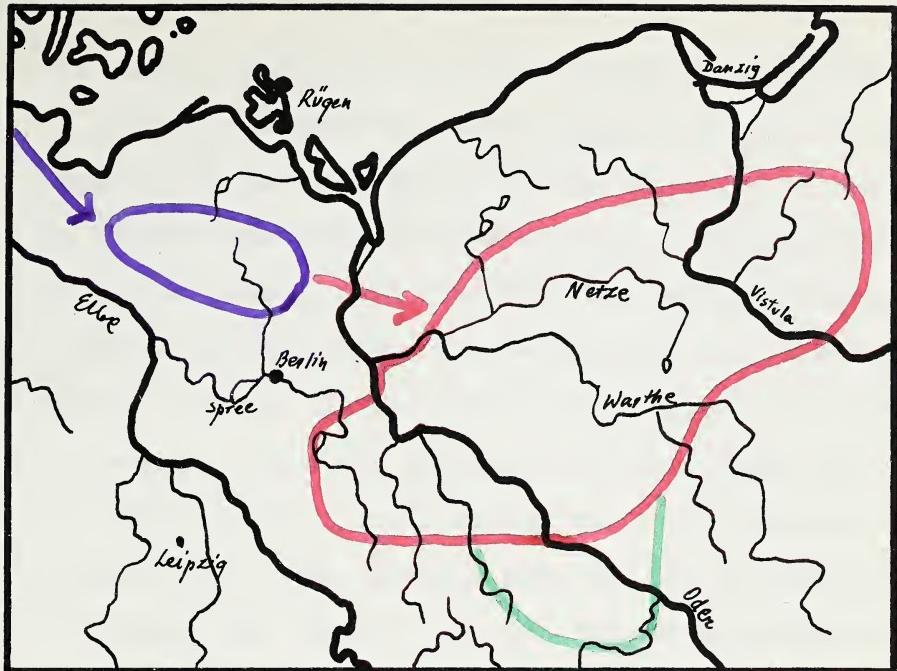
Much¹⁾ does not express an opinion as to the time of migration, but he regards Vendsyssel in Northern Jutland as the possible homeland of the Vandals. He also regards it as probable that part of the tribe originated in Southern Norway. (See Map 86). He does not consider, however, that the name of Silingi can be connected with Seeland.²⁾ He rejects Jahn's view that the Silingi lived in Niederlausitz before moving into Middle Silesia. The fact that the Langobards had a violent contact with the Vandals proves to him only that that they must have lived in close proximity to each other. That would furnish, in his opinion, proof of the accuracy of the Langobardic saga that there was conflict between the Langobards and the Vandals and would strengthen the hypothesis of Vendsyssel as their original home.³⁾

Kossinna⁴⁾ has an entirely different point of view. First he thought that the Vandals were identical with the Face Urn people. It will be remembered in this connection that the Bastarnae were also supposed to be the descendants of the Face Urn people. Kossinna argues that many North

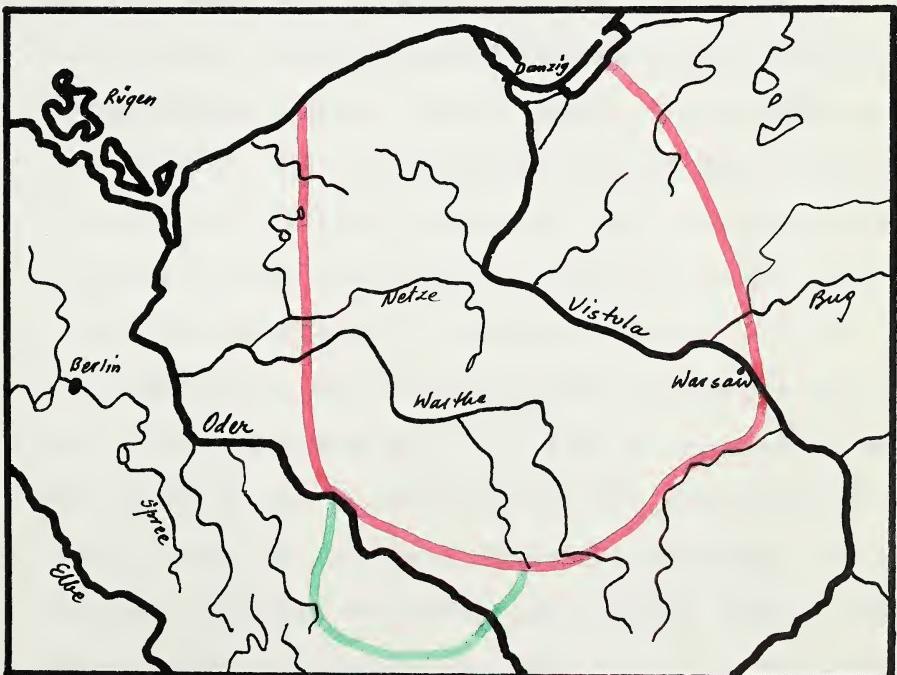
- 1) Hoops: Reallexik.d.German. Altertumskunde, Vol.IV, p.479. B.v.Richthofen: Zur Vorgeschichte der Ostgermanen, p.130, foot note 10.
- 2) Hoops: op. cit. p. 479.
- 3) Kossinna: Die deutsche Vorgeschichte, pp. 139 - 144.

Germanic tribes from Eastern and Southern Sweden, the islands of Bornholm and Gotland and the Jutish Peninsula would leave their homes and move by sea to the mouth of the Vistula.¹⁾ (See Map 88). From here they would start the conquest of the West Germanic population that had penetrated into Northeastern Germany and Northwestern Poland. Then pushing further south they would overrun various areas occupied by the Illyrians during Period V of the Bronze Age. Out of this mixture of conquerors and conquered a new Eastern Germanic tribe - the Vandili - emerged, who had the same burial custom as the Face Urn people. At an early time, still during the 8th century B.C., they occupied West Prussia, Hinterpommern as far as Rega and south to Deutsch-Krone and Filehne on the Netze, Northern Posen to the Netze, southern West Prussia east of the Vistula and Western East Prussia as far as a line running through the districts of Neidenburg, Osterode, Allenstein, Rössel, Friedland, Prussian Eylau and to the mouth of the Pregel. (See Map 88). An offshoot from this main body occupied somewhat later the eastern part of Southern Posen and parts of Middle and Lower Silesia. The border on the west was from Filehne on the Netze through Birnbaum on the Warthe, Bentschen, Wollstein, Grünberg, Sprottau, Glogau, Steinau, Liegnitz, Breslau, Ohlau. The southern and eastern border went through Namslau to Kempen in Posen and from there northwards. (See Map 88). Still later the Face Urn people spread into Congress Poland to the Bug and from

1) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 142.



Map 90.



Map 91.

Schmidt

red 750 B.C. - 0
green 0 -

the source of the Bug into East Galicia. (See Map 88). But in his later works¹⁾ Kossinna changed his mind. He no longer regards the Face Urn people as the ancestors of the Vandals. He adopted the point of view of Jahn, Schulz and v.Richthofen and assumed with them that the Vandals emigrated from Northern Jutland during the 2nd century B.C. Sometime between 150 and 100 B.C. they can be traced with certainty in Southern Posen and Silesia, in Poland along the Upper and Middle Vistula and crossing the Lower Vistula in the western part of the Masuren area and the adjacent parts of Poland. (See Maps 87 and 90). Kossinna assumes therefore that the fighting with the Langobards took place as the Vandals moved out from Jutland and settled temporarily in the area between the Lower Elbe and the Lower Oder. (See Map 90). Then they moved up the Oder and occupied, as mentioned above, Brandenburgian Neumark south of the Warthe, Niederlausitz, Posen, Lower Silesia, the southern part of West Prussia, the southwestern part of East Prussia, the adjacent area of West Masuren and the adjoining part of Congress Poland. (See Map 90). There was then, according to this interpretation, no violent contact with the Rugians. The Burgundians, who had also landed on German soil sometime between 150 and 100 B.C., forced the Vandals out of the region of the Upper Netze and the areas east of the Vistula close by Graudenz, Thorn and Strasburg (in East Prussia). (See Map 94). They also pushed forward along the middle course of the Vistula, especially on its southern

1) Kossinna: German. Kultur im I. Jahrtausen n.Chr., p. 182.

bank, almost to Warsaw. They thus divided the Vandals, cutting off an island in the West Masuren area. (See Map 94). Middle Silesia was occupied during the 1st century B.C., the tribe that was responsible for it coming from the island of Seeland, but the division into the Silingi and the (H)asdingi took place later (2nd century A.D.). (See Map 94). From their new Middle Silesian home they even sent out some colonies into Middle Germany.¹⁾ Pushed out of their northern territories by the Burgundians the Vandals in 100 B.C. occupied the rest of Congress Poland, crossing the Bug and extending as far as Drohitschin and Sokal, from where they reached the Upper Dniestr.²⁾ (See Map 94).

B.v.Richthofen also accepts the view that the Vandals migrated during the 2nd century B.C.³⁾ He also mentions the suggestion of W.Schulz that there might be a connection between the raid of the Cimbri and the Teutoni and that of the Vandals.

W.Schulz⁴⁾ is in favour of the 2nd century B.C. as the time of the migration of the Vandals.

Much⁵⁾ gives the view of Zeuss that the Silingi came into Middle Silesia from Oberlausitz, an assumption mentioned by none of the about mentioned authorities,

Summing up all these views they fall into the following categories: Nerman and Schmidt think that the Vandals came from the Scandinavian Peninsula during the 8th - 7th

1) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 188.

2) Ibid.

3) v.Richthofen: op. cit. p. 130 and Schmidt: op. cit. p. 83, foot note 1)

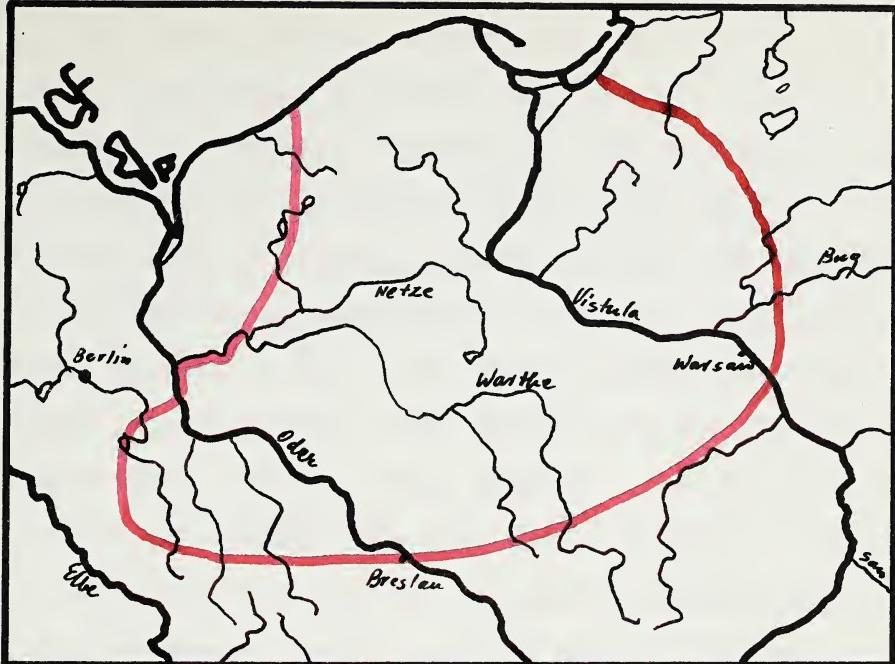
4) v.Richthofen, op. cit. p. 131.

5) Hoops: Realb xik.d.German. Altertumskunde, Vol.IV, p.180.

century B.C. Jahn, Kossinna, v.Richthofen and Schulz think that they came during the 2nd century B.C. from Northern Jutland. Much thinks that they came from Northern Jutland, too, but expresses no opinion as to the date. As for the Silingi Nerman does not express an opinion about the date but thinks that they might have come together with the other Vandals. He derives them from Seeland. Jahn, Schmidt and Kossinna derive them from Seeland, too, the former at about the beginning of the present era, the latter during the 1st century B.C. Much and Karsten¹⁾ take issue with the view which derives them from Seeland, but do not mention the time at which the migration took place.

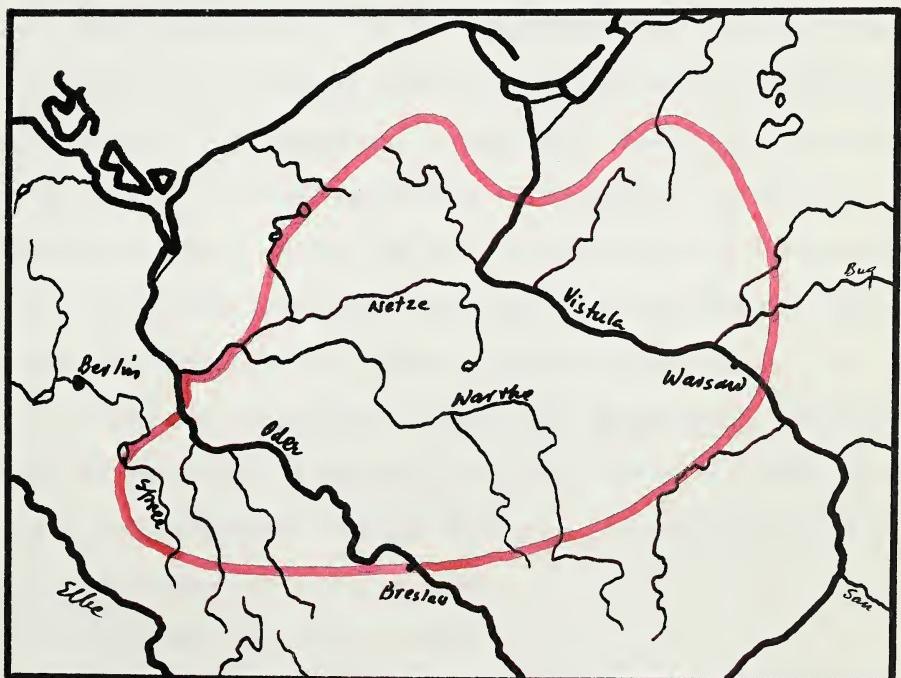
For present purposes the following interpretation is accepted: The Vandals came from the Scandinavian Peninsula some time after 750 B.C. (Nerman, Schmidt). The fight with the Langobards took place when the latter landed in Germany around 600 B.C. The Vandals forced back the Face Urn people who are the ancestors of the Bastarnae (Schmidt) and occupied first the the eastern part of Hinterpommern, West Prussia, the western part of East Prussia (Schmidt), the West Masurian area, the adjacent part of Poland east of the Vistula, former Prussian Poland, Brandenburgian Neumark south of the Warthe, Niederlausitz and Lower Silesia (Kossinna). (See Map 92). About 150 B.C. they were driven out of the costal areas by the Rugians, the latter occupying the land from Kolberg to Elbing. The Vandals would now hold all the territory which they formerly held minus the areas taken by the Rugians. (See Map 93). About 100 B.C. new arrivals - the Burgundians - pushed the Vandals out of the area north of the Warthe, the district of Turek and the area north of the Bzura. (See Map 94). On the right bank of the Vistula a Burgundian wedge cut off

1) Karsten: Die Germanen, p. 149.



Map 92.

600 - 150 B.C.



Map 93.

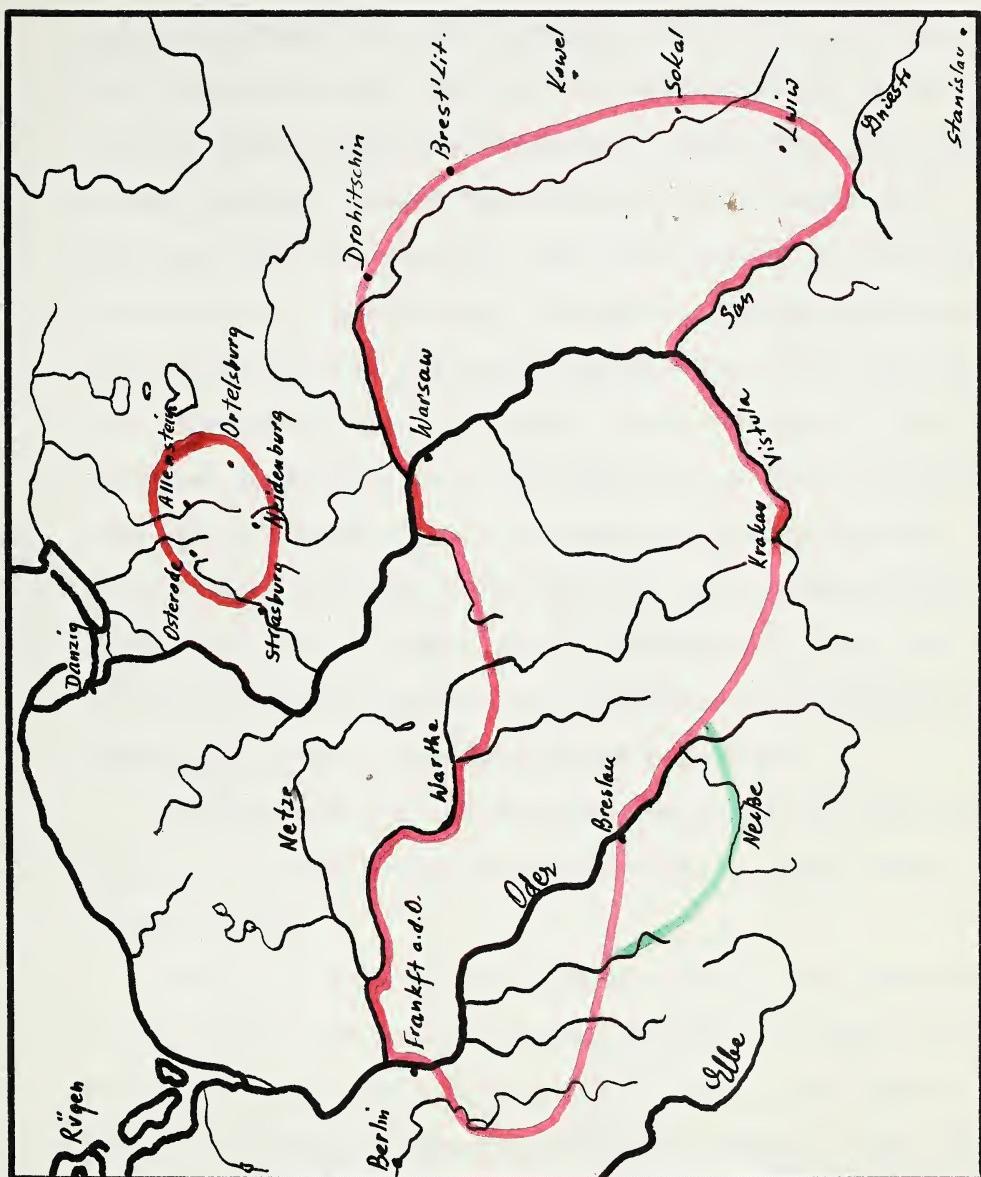
150 - 100 B.C.

a small West Masurian group in the districts of Neidenburg, Ortelsburg, Allenstein and Osterode from the main body of the tribe.¹⁾ (See Map 94) The main group attempted to enlarge its territories by spreading about 100 B.C. into the rest of Congress Poland, crossing the Bug and reaching Drohitschin and Sokal, as well as a small part of East Galicia as far as the Upper Dniestr. (See Map 94). About the beginning of the present era the Silingi occupied Middle Silesia (Jahn, Schmidt). (See Map 94). Parts of the tribe ^{made} ~~made~~ raids into Middle Germany during the 1st century B.C. and they can be traced archaeologically in the province of Saxony, Anhalt, Eastern Thuringia and even as far as Wetterau.²⁾ With the landing of the Goths at the beginning of the present era at the mouth of the Vistula a new enemy appeared. But the conflict with them began only in 2nd century A.D. In the meantime the Vandals were involved in a struggle against the Swebians in Bohemia and Moravia.³⁾ The Lugians, especially the Buri, participated in 50 A.D. in the expulsion of Vannius, the king of the Swebian state which had been created by the Romans in 19 A.D. in the area between the Waag and the Morava. While the Romans were fighting against the Dacians in 88 - 89 A.D., the Lugians struggled against the Marcomanni and the Quadi. After this the Marcomanni allied themselves with the Romans and this alliance lasted till the Marcomannic wars in the

1) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 188.

2) Ibid.

3) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 102.



red
green

100 B.C. - 150 A.D.
0 = " "

Map 94.

2nd century A.D. About 150 A.D. the Goths began their memorable migration in the southeasterly direction. This migration affected also the Vandals. In 150 A.D. the small West Masurian pocket was overrun and conquered by the advancing Goths. Then the pressure of the Goths (who later became Gepidae) caused the Burgundians to leave their land and move west. The Vandals thus were forced to abandon their territories in Brandenburg (Neumark), Niederlausitz and Upper Silesia to the advancing Burgundians. (See Maps 20 and 95). The Vandals in turn in the course of the 2nd century occupied Eastern Galicia and Bukovina as far as Schipenitz.¹⁾ (See Map 95. They also in the same century pushed the Celts out of Upper Silesia. (See Map 95). New opportunities opened with the outbreak of the Marcomannic wars, and the Vandals took advantage of the situation to penetrate into Roman Dacia behind the Carpathian Mountains.

At this point a few remarks are necessary concerning the division and classification of the various Vandal, alias Lugian tribes.

Under the mane of the Lugians a religious federation of the Vandal tribes was formed. The sacred grove of the federation was on the territory of the Silingian Vandals in Silesia. Ptolomy enumerates 3 Lugian tribes: 1) the Omanoi, 2) the (Di)dunoi and 3) the Buroi.²⁾ Tacitus mentiones five main Lugian tribes: 1) the Harii, 2) the Helvecones, 3) the Manimi, 4) the Elisii and 5) the Nahar(na)vali.³⁾ The Silingi

1) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 188.

2) Ptolomy: Geographia, II, 11, 18.

3) Tacitus: Germania, 43.

mentioned by Ptolomy but not as a Lugian tribe, are also to be counted as belonging to the Vandals. The name (H)asdingi appears during the Marcomannic wars. We can assume that the Harii, the Hasdingi and Pliny's Charini are all the same tribe.¹⁾ The Silingi are identical with the Naharnavali.²⁾ The Omanoi are probably the Manimi. Their territory and their fate is not known.³⁾ The Helvecones are probably identical with the Naharnavali, and therefore also with the Silingi and with the Ailuaiones, mentioned by Ptolomy, but not under the Lugians.⁴⁾ Much⁵⁾ identifies the Helvecones with the Elve(k)ones (?) of Ptolomy, who, however, does not list them under the Lugians. The Didunoi are probably a wild invention of Ptolomy's.⁶⁾ The Buroi, although mentioned by Tacitus as belonging to the Swebians are also a Lugian tribe. They can be traced during the Marcomannic wars in Northern Moravia. Their ultimate fate is not known.⁷⁾ Nor do we know anything about the (H)elisii.⁸⁾ During the Marcomannic wars 2 other tribes are mentioned which probably belonged to the Vandals: the Victovali (mentioned first by Capitolin) and the Lakringi (mentioned by Dio). Kossina, Müllenhof and Much regard the Victovali as identical with the Hasdingi.⁹⁾ Schmidt¹⁰⁾ does not agree with this identi-

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 102.

2) Ibid. p. 101.

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid.

5) Hoops: Reallexik.d.German.Altertumskunde, Vol.IV, p.480.

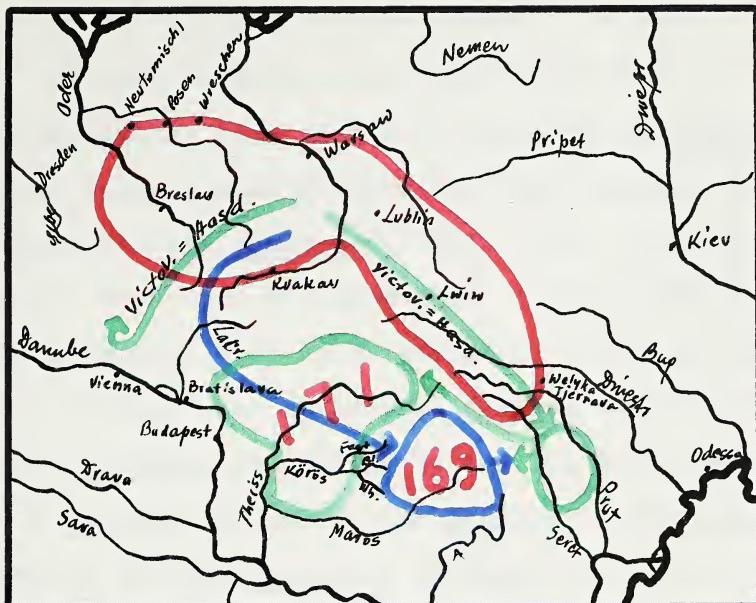
6) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 101.

7) Ibid.

8) Hoops: op. cit. p. 480.

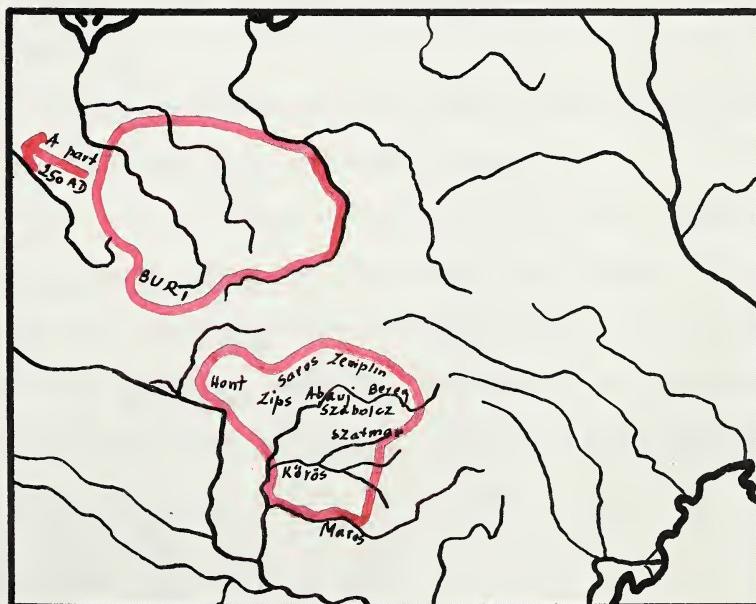
9) Ibid.

10) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 102.



Map 95.

red	150 - 250 A.D.
blue	169 - " "
green	171 - " "



Map 96.

250 - beginning of the IV.cent. A.D.

fication. According to him Capitolin mentions the date 169 A.D. and not 170 A.D. as Much appears to think.¹⁾ Schmidt does not know to what group they belong.²⁾ As for Lakringi Kossinna thinks that they are a part of the Hasdingi.³⁾ Schmidt regards them as Vandals, too, but does not identify them with the Hasdingi.⁴⁾ Their fate after 250 A.D. is unknown. Much does not know where to place the Taifali.⁵⁾ Schmidt regards them as relatives of the Visigoths. Much further thinks that Ptolomy's Avarinoi are identical with Pliny's Uarinne, enumerated by the latter as Vandili.⁶⁾ Ptolomy's Ombrones (south of the Avarinoi) and Frugindiones (north of the Avarinoi) are in Much's opinion Germanic tribes, but whether they are to be classified with the Vandals or with the Bastarnae or Skiri cannot be determined.⁷⁾ The Ombrones may possibly have been Vandals, since one of the Vandal kings in the Langobardian saga called himself Ambri.⁸⁾

Only ^{two} branches of the Vandals made the journey into Spain: the Hasdingi and the Silingi.

The story of the Vandals will be now continued. The Hist.Aug.Vita Marci 14,1 mentions the Vandal tribes Vicotvali and Lacringi for the first time. According to Kossinna⁹⁾ the Hasdingi whom he, Müllenhoff and Much regard as identical with the Vicotvali, led by their kings Raos and

1) Hoops: op. cit. p. Vol.IV, p 417.

2) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 102.

3) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 192.

4) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 102.

5)

6) Hoops: op. cit. p. 480.

7) Ibid.

8) Ibid.

9) Ibid.

Raptos, break in 171 A.D. into Northern Hungary and Transcarpathian Ukraine. They are accompanied by the Lacringi, one of the tribes of the Hasdingian group of the Vandals. The Hasdingi settled in the west and the Lacringi in the east. They occupy the districts of Zips, Saros, Zemplin, Bereg, Abauj, Hont, Szabolcz, Szatmar.¹⁾ (See Map 96). The Theiss, the Maros, Siebenbürgen and the Carpathian mountains formed the frontiers of these new Hasdingian territories. Schmidt, however, accepting the Victovali (although with hesitation) among the Lugians, is strongly opposed to identifying them with the Hasdingi, and interprets the events of these times differently. The Victovali, he thinks, invaded Dacia as early as 167 A.D. in company with other tribes.²⁾ But the Romans managed to remain masters of the situation and settled the Victovali and the Lacringi in Northern Dacia, imposing upon them the duty of protecting the frontier. The Hasdingi, who also wanted to move into Dacia, were rejected by the Romans. They were told in 171 A.D. to occupy the land of the Kostroboci, on the eastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, who were at this time raiding the Eastern Empire. This the Hasdingi did, but because they still presented a menace to Roman Dacia, the Lacringi were incited or told by the Romans to attack the Hasdingi. The latter were defeated, after which they were allowed, still in the same 171 A.D., to settle in Dacia, in the area around the Upper Theiss.³⁾ (See Map 95).

1) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 192.

2) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 103.

3) Ibid. p. 104.

. The controversy arises because Schmidt regards the Victovali and the Hasdingi as ^{two} different people, whereas Müllenhoff and his school think they are the same people under ^{two} different names.

In 167 A.D. the Victovali are associated with the Langobards in an attack on the Roman territory.¹⁾ They are also mentioned under the tribes which participated in the first phase of the Marcomannic war against the Romans.²⁾ They are mentioned by Capitolin (22, 2) as the first of the 2nd branch of these tribes. Schmidt thinks the Victovali must have been included among the 11 tribes with whom the Romans made treaties in 169 A.D., after having administered a defeat, as mentioned by Dio (71, 3, 1a).³⁾ Schmidt assumes therefore that they must have been included in this treaty and given permission to settle in Northern Hungary, since they are mentioned as being there in 334 A.D. by Ammianus (17, 12, 19), and again in 358 A.D. by Eutropus as being in Banat (VIII 2).⁴⁾

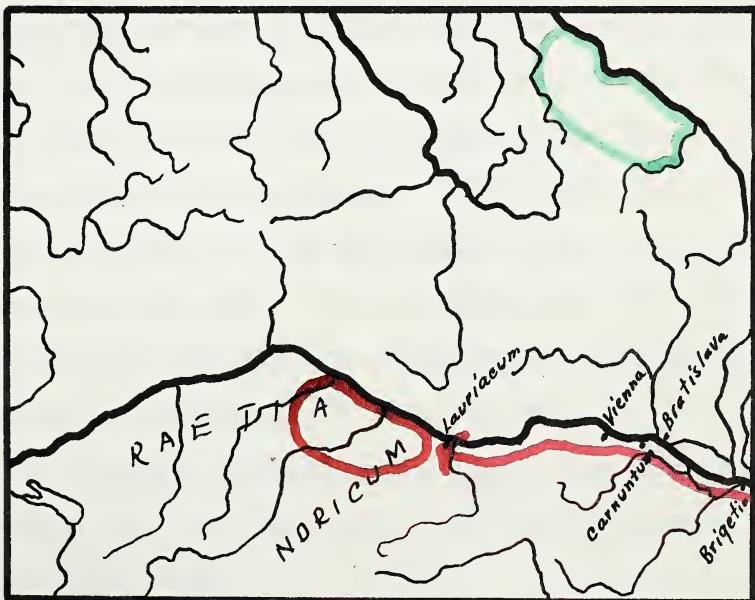
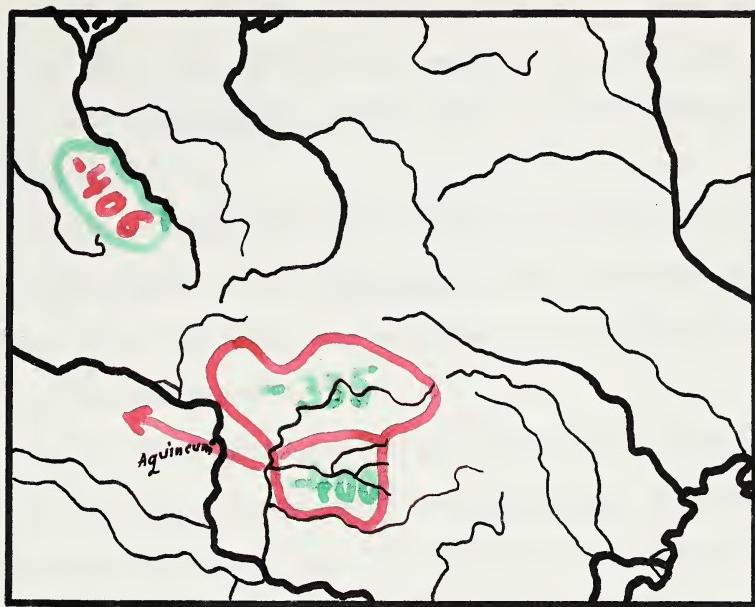
According to Dio (71, 12) the Hasdingi are mentioned for the first time in connection with their raid into the land of the Kostroboci, as described above. Schmidt treats them (the Victovali and the Hasdingi) separately but Müllenhoff, Much and Kossinna think that they are the same tribe under ^{two} different names. They do not share Schmidt's opinion that they are to be included among the ^{eleven} tribes who made peace with the Romans and then settled in Dacia. Their expla-

1) Schmidt; op. cit. p. 103.

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid.



red and green - 401 - 406 A.D.

nation is that the Hasdingi alias Victovali were in conflict with the Romans before 171 A.D. and that it was after this conflict that they broke into Dacia from the occupied territory of the Kostroboci, where they in turn were defeated by the Lacringi.¹⁾

Kossinna simplifies the story by having the Hasdingi alias Victovali and the Lacringi enter Northern Dacia together and by omitting any mention of a conflict between them on Dacian soil.²⁾

For present purposes these ~~two~~ different views are combined. It will be assumed that the Victovali and the Hasdingi are the same people, that they attacked the Romans in 167 A.D. and later but did not settle down at this time in Dacia, nor did they make any treaty with the Romans. The Lacringi, however, a tribe of the Hasdingian branch of the Vandals, who were settled in 169 A.D. in the eastern part of Northern Dacia with the duty of protecting the border, come into conflict with the Hasdingi when they reappear in 171 A.D., and after being refused land in Dacia by the Romans, are permitted to attack the Kostroboci, after which they invade Dacia and are defeated by the Lacringi, acting as allies of the Romans. (See Map 95). But now being far less dangerous they are permitted to settle in Northwestern Dacia, between the Lacringi and the Quadi.³⁾ (See Map 95).

It remains to mention the Buri. They were situated in

1) Hoops: op. cit. Vol. IV, p. 417 and Kossinna: op. cit. p. 192.

2) Kossinna: ibid.

3) Schmidt's chronology is used.

Northern Moravia and Austrian Silesia, according to Tacitus¹⁾, or according to Ptolomy²⁾ in Upper Silesia as far as the sources of the Vistula. (See Map 96). Müllenhoff thinks they occupied the territories in the area of the Upper Waag.³⁾ During the Markomannic wars they are listed among the enemies of Roma.⁴⁾ In 178 A.D., however they were allies of the Romans against the Quadi.⁵⁾ Shortly after this they broke again their alliance with the Romans who sent a punitive expedition against them. They probably remained in their territories until the end of the 4th century A.D. at which time they emigrated, but the direction which they took and their fate is not known.⁶⁾

The Vandal territories in Galicia extended as far as Welyka Tjernava.⁷⁾ (See Map 95). But about 250 A.D. the Vandals disappear from Eastern Galicia, Eastern Poland and the eastern part of Western Galicia.⁸⁾ Kossinna thinks this movement is connected with the sudden appearance of a tribe called the Taifali who also in 250 A.D. occupy parts of Wallachia. Thus Kossinna identifies the Taifali with the Vandals.⁹⁾ Schmidt disagrees. He thinks the Taifali are most probably related to the Visigoths and have nothing to do with the Vandals.¹⁰⁾ Schmidt's view is the one here accepted. (See also under Taifali - page 89).

About 250 A.D. a considerable number of the Silingi

- 1) Schmidt: op. cit. pp, 101 and 105, Hoops; op.cit.p.361,v.I .
- 2) Hoops: ibid.
- 3) Ibid.
- 4) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 104.
- 5) Ibid.
- 6) Ibid., p. 105.
- 7) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 188.
- 8) Ibid. p. 195.
- 9) Ibid.
- 10) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 546.

migrated westwards.¹⁾ (See Map 96). Some of them settled in the region of the Middle Main. The majority of them were exterminated in the course of raids on Romans territories in 276 - 282 A.D. Some of these Vandals who were taken prisoners at that time were moved into Brittany as auxiliary troops of the Romans.²⁾ The majority of the Silingi tribe, however, remained in Silesia until they joined the Hasdingi in their common migration into Spain. Even so, many of them must have remained behind, since the advancing Slavs took over the name of the tribe and gave it to the whole territory in the form of Slezi, Silesia.³⁾

After 250 A.D. there is no mention of the Lacringi. Kossinna assumes that they must have migrated and that their territory was occupied by the newly arrived Gepidae under their king Fastida. Kossinna suggests⁴⁾ that the Lacringi joined the Taifali in Wallachia. This, however, is doubtful, since Kossinna regards the Taifali as the Vandals, too. Much⁵⁾ merely states that their fate is unknown.

Kossinna states that the Gepidae in their expansion south (before their migration proper) reached the Vandalian territories. This took place during the 3rd century A.D.⁶⁾ The rest of the Hasdingian Vandals remained in their old territory even after the Gepidae had completely abandoned Poland by the beginning of the 4th century A.D. ~~For how long did~~ these Vandals remain here is not certain. Schmidt assumes

1) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 195.

2) Arldt: Germanische Völkerwellen, p. 155.

3) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 190.

4) Ibid. p. 195.

5) Hoops: op. cit. Vol. III, p. 120.

6) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 238.

that the royal graves in Sackrau near Breslau belong to the Hasdingi; the graves belong to the beginning of the 4th century, and Schmidt therefore thinks that the Hasdingi left these areas at the beginning of the 4th century A.D., and as a guess, he suggests that they joined their relatives in Hungary.¹⁾ Kossinna, however, thinks the graves belong to the Silingi, although they look very much like Rugian graves. The Rugians must have passed through these regions very shortly afterwards. The Hasdingi would be by that time all in Hungary.²⁾ In his later works, however, Kossinna says that the graves are undoubtedly Vandalian, without specifying whether Silingian or Hasdingian.³⁾ Perhaps this indicates that he gave up his earlier view and now classifies the graves as Hasdingian who are sometimes referred to as the 'genuine Vandals' (eigentliche Wandalen). Schmidt's version is here assumed to be correct. (See Map 96).

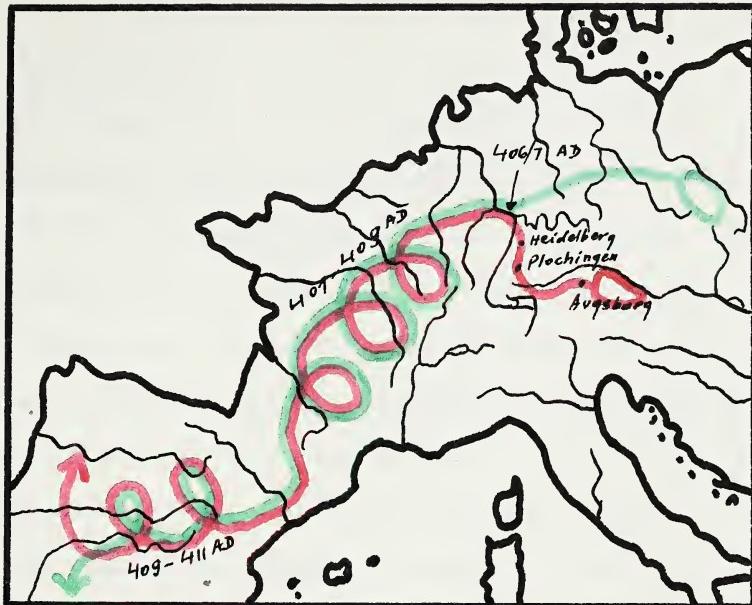
Meanwhile the Hasdingi in Hungary tried to expand. In 290 A.D. they allied themselves with the Gepidae and attacked the Visigoths in an attempt to drive the latter out of Siebenbürgen, but the attack failed. The Goths and their allies the Taifali were victorious.⁴⁾ About 335 A.D. the Vandals renewed their war against the Visigoths, this time in alliance with the Sarmatae, but this attempt also ended with a decided victory of the Goths. Wisumar, king of the Vandals,

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 107.

2) Kossinna: Die deutsche Vorgeschichte, p. 166.

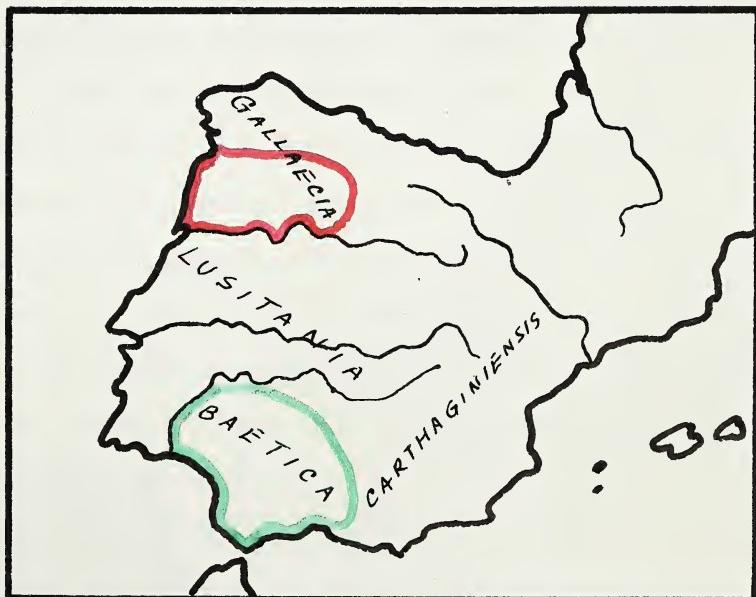
3) Kossinna: German. Kultur im I.Jahrtausen n.Chr., p. 98.

4) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 223.



Map 99.

406/7 - 411 A.D.



Map 100.

red and green - 411 - 418 A.D.

fell in the battle.¹⁾ Kossinna thinks that after this battle the remainders of the tribe settled in Pannonia.²⁾ Not until 400 A.D. were they again strong enough to undertake to attack the Roman power. But in Schmidt's opinion the shattered tribe of the Vandals remained after the defeat of 335 A.D. in Dacia. Shortly before this time they had extended their authority as far as the Maros and the White, Black and Fast Körös.³⁾ (See Map 96). After the defeat what remained of the Victovali (alias Hasdingi) continued to live in the same areas as before, and probably spread to the Banat, as Patsch thinks⁴⁾, until about 400 A.D. their number increased to such an extend that they had to move because of lack of cultivable land.⁵⁾ Schmidt's version is accepted here. (See Map 97).

A part of the tribe under their king Godigisel moved along the Roman military road of northern Dacia through the territory of the Sarmatae and crossed the Danube at Aquincum.⁶⁾ (See Map 97). Here they were joined by the Alans, and moving along the right bank of the river through Brigetio, Carnuntum, Lauriacum they poured into Noricum and the adjacent parts of Raetia. Here in 401 A.D. they were defeated by Stilicho, himself of Vandal origin, and were permitted to settle there as foederati.⁷⁾ (See Map 98). But the Vandals and the Alans did not stay long in these new areas. In 406 A.

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 106.

2) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 198.

3) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 106.

4) Ibid. p. 103.

5) Ibid. p. 107.

6) Ibid. p. 108.

7) Ibid.

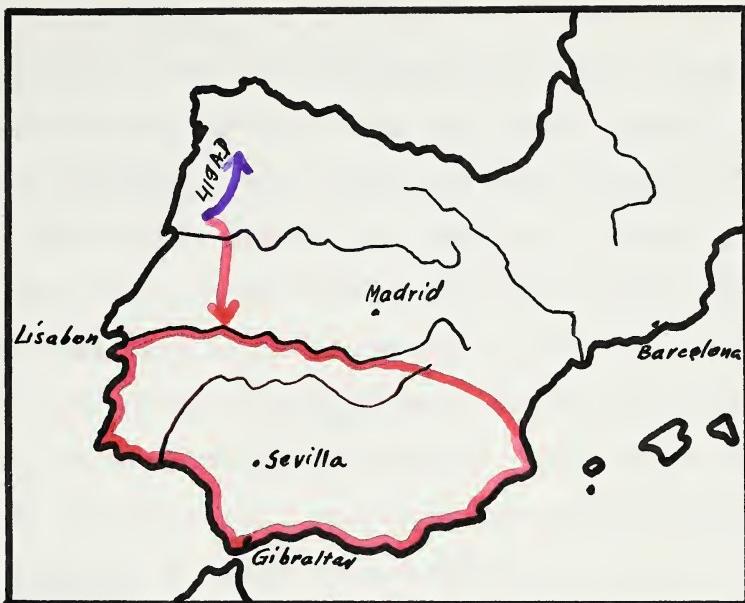
D. they broke out again. Their aim was to cross the Rhine and penetrate into Gaul. They took advantage of the opportunity created by the withdrawal of the Roman troops from the Rhine into Italy to meet an attack of Radagais there. The Vandals and the Alans were joined in this raid by the majority of the Quadi, the majority of the Silingi and some detachments of the Gepidae. Some of the Vandals, as frequently happened, remained in Noricum. The raiders moved probably along the Roman military road which went through Noricum, Augsburg, Plochingen, Cannstadt and Heidelberg to Mainz.¹⁾ (See Map 99). After a fierce battle with the Franks, who as foederati of Rome had been left to protect the frontier, they forced the passage of the Rhine at the turn of the years 406 - 407 A.D. in the darkness of night. Their king Godigisel fell in this battle. For 3 year the invaders looted in Gaul and the Romans were unable to check them.²⁾ Under Godigisel's son Gunderich the Vandals and their allies crossed the Pyrenees and poured into Spain in the autumn of 409 A.D. For ^{two} two years they looted and finally, endangered by the pestilence and famine which had broken out in Spain, they settled down: the Hasdingi and the Swebians (Quadi) in Gallaecia, the Silingi in Baetica and the Alans in Lusitania and Carthaginiensis.³⁾ (See Map 100). Their official status was that of foederati of Rome.

In 416 A.D. the Visigoths under their king Wallia appeared in Spain to execute a commission of the Emperor, whose foederati they now were, to destroy the Vandals, the

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 109.

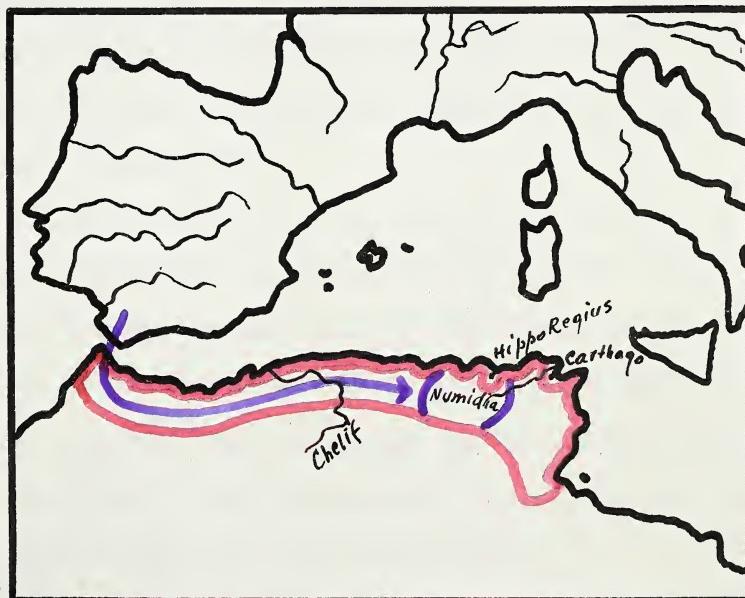
2) Ibid.

3) Ibid.



Map 101.

419/21 - 429 A.D.



Map 102.

429/35 - 442 A.D.

Alans and the Swebians. The Goths defeated and almost annihilated the Silingi in a series of battles in 418 A.D. In the same year they also defeated and almost exterminated the Alans. Small remnants of this once very numerous tribe joined the Hasdingi. The latter and the Swebians did not share the fate of their allies only because the Goths were called away from Spain at the end of 418 A.D. by the Emperor who feared that they might become too strong after these victories.¹⁾ In 419 the Hasdingi attacked the Swebians, who were only saved from destruction by the intervention of a Roman army.²⁾ (See Map 101). Thereupon the Vandals had to retreat into Baetica. A second clash with the Romans in 421 or 422 A.D. ended in a decisive victory of the Vandals, after which they spread into the whole of Southern Spain, including all the southern ports which were captured by a Vandal fleet, mentioned in this connection for the first time.³⁾ (See Map 101). It might be mentioned now that the name of the modern Spanish province of Andalusia goes back to the original 'Wandalusia' probably.⁴⁾

In 428 A.D., following Gunderich's death, Gaiserich, besides Theodoric the Great, the mightiest figure of the migration period, became king of the Vandals. In 429 A.D. he led his tribe across the Straits of Gibraltar into Northern Africa. At this time the tribe was about 80, 000 strong. They met their first resistance in 430 A.D. in the province

1) Schmidt: op. cit. pp. 109 and 110.

2) Ibid. p. 110.

3) Ibid.

4) Karsten: Die Germanen, p. 221.

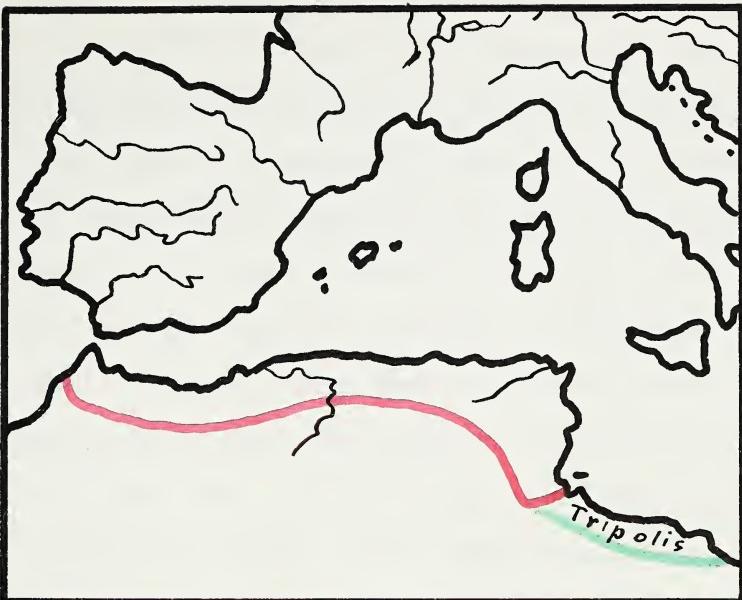
of Numidia. This resistance was easily brushed aside, whereupon the Vandals conquered the whole of Roman North Africa as far as Tripolis. (See Map 102). Only the fortified ports of Hippo Regius (modern Bone) and Carthage still remained in Roman hands. (See Map 102). In 435 A. D. they were recognized by the helpless Emperor as foederati in the province of Numidia.¹⁾ (See Map 102). In 439 A.D. Gaiserich captured the city of Carthage by a stratagem.²⁾ and used the arsenals and ships which he found there to strengthen his fleet. In order to cut off the grain supply from Italy Gaiserich occupied Sicily in 440 A.D., but evacuated the island shortly after this, after he had received news that a strong Byzantine fleet was approaching. This fleet landed in Sicily, but no actions against the Vandals followed, because the fleet was soon recalled (in 442 A.D.), when the Huns made an attack on the Eastern Empire. Thereupon the Western Empire made a treaty with the Vandals, giving them the provinces of Tingitana, Mauretania, Numidia, Zeugitana and Byzacena.³⁾ (See Map 103). The centre of the Vandal settlements was around Carthage; remaining lands were tributary.

There followed a long period of friendly relations between the Vandals and the Western Empire. Upon the death of the Emperor Valentian in 455 A.D. Gaiserich ceased to regard himself bound by the treaty with the Romans. It was in this year that the Vandals attacked the city of Rome itself, captured it without any resistance and looted the city for a

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 111.

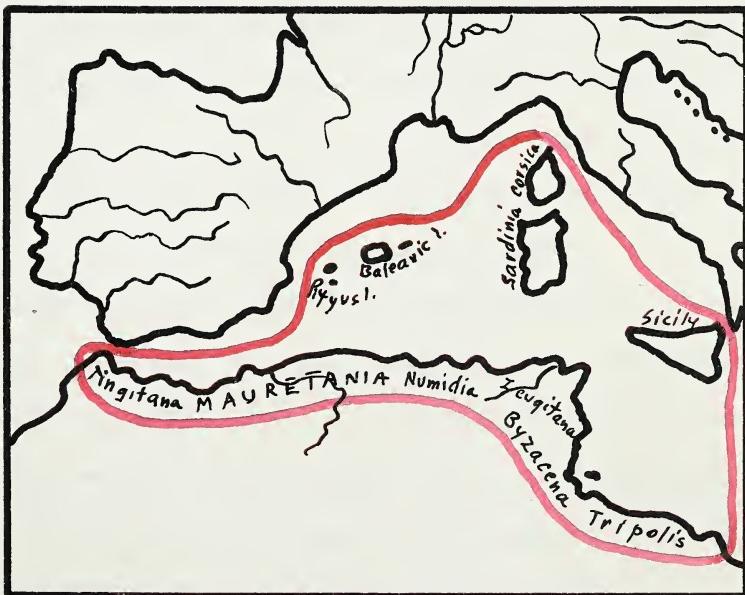
2) Ibid.

3) Ibid. p. 112.



Map 103.

red 442 - 474 A.D.
green 450 - " "



Map 104.

474 - 476 A.D.

period of 2 weeks.¹⁾ The new Emperor Avitus was powerless to do anything. Gaiseric therefore occupied in the following years Tripolis.²⁾ (See Map 103). Majorianus, the successor of Avitus, undertook in 460 A.D. a campaign against the Vandals by sea and land, but Gaiseric destroyed his fleet and the imperial army sent to Spain to cross to Africa had therefore to retreat. After this the Vandals ravaged every year the coasts of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic and the Pityus islands. Finally both Emperors, the Eastern and the Western, undertook in 467 A.D. a joint expedition against the Vandals. The land force was to strike from Egypt and the fleet was to attack the Vandal ports. The Romans were at first victorious, but in 468 A.D. Gaiseric caught by Carthage the Roman fleet of about 1,000 ships by surprise and destroyed it. This caused the complete failure of the imperial campaign. The Vandals were now masters of the sea. In 472 A.D. Olybrius, Gaiseric's candidate for Emperor, was proclaimed Emperor in Rome by Rikimer and for a time friendly relations were established. But in 474 A.D. the Vandals began hostilities against the Eastern Roman Empire. The Emperor Zeno was not in a position to offer effective resistance and in the same 474 A.D. he recognized the Vandals as sovereign possessors of Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic and the Pityus islands.³⁾ (See Map 104). In 476 A.D. Sicily was ceded to Odoacer in return for an annual tribute.⁴⁾ (See Map 105).

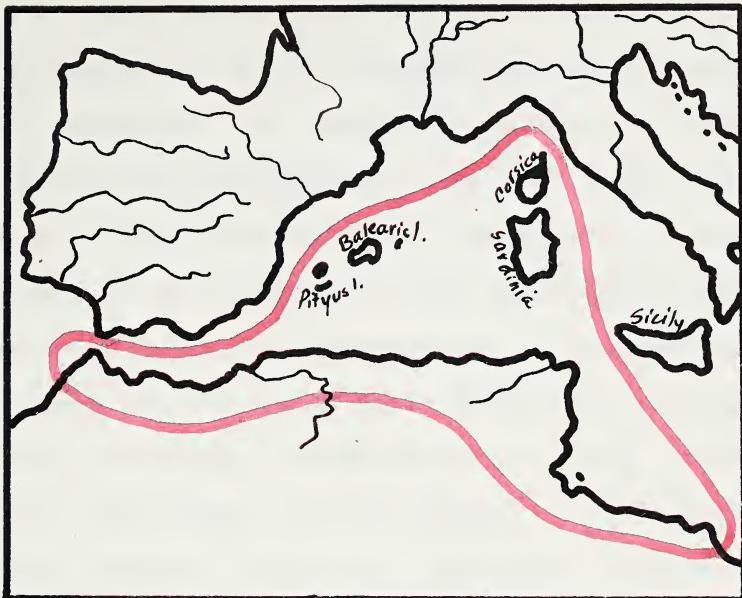
In 477 A.D., the year of the death of the great king,

1) Schmidt: Germanische Frühzeit, p. 211.

2) Ibid. p. 212.

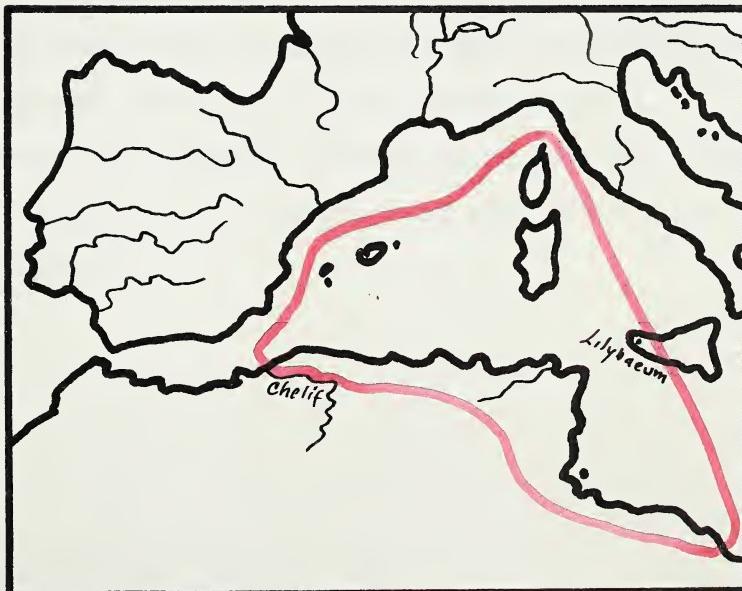
3) Ibid. p. 213.

4) Ibid.



Map 105.

476 - 500 A.D.



Map 106.

500 - 533 A.D.

the Vandals were at the peak of their power. The decline began after Gaiseric's death. The Mauritanian tribes in Aurasius Mons (modern Great Atlas) revolted and could not be brought back to obedience. The Vandals abandoned also their territories west of the Chelif river. The next king, Hunerich, instituted a disastrous policy of persecution of the Catholics. (It should be mentioned here that the Vandals were converted to the Arian branch of Christianity in the 1st half of the 4th century A.D. in their North Hungarian territories.).¹⁾ The next king, Gunthamus, modified this severity somewhat. His successor, Thrasamund, allied himself with the Ostrogoths in Italy and married in 500 A.D. Theodoric's sister, Amalafrida, who brought him as dowry the western part of Sicily with the city of Lilybaeum.²⁾ (See Map 106). Hilderich, the next king, made an alliance with the Eastern Empire, which caused a revolt of a national party under Gelimer. Thereupon the Emperor Justinian took advantage of the opportunity and ordered his general Belisarius to attack the Vandals. The former Vandal vigor had, however, deteriorated and they offered but a weak resistance. In the year 533 A.D. the Vandal state was destroyed.³⁾

1) Kossinna: op. cit. p. 198.

2) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 214.

3) Ibid. p. 215.

Chapter 17

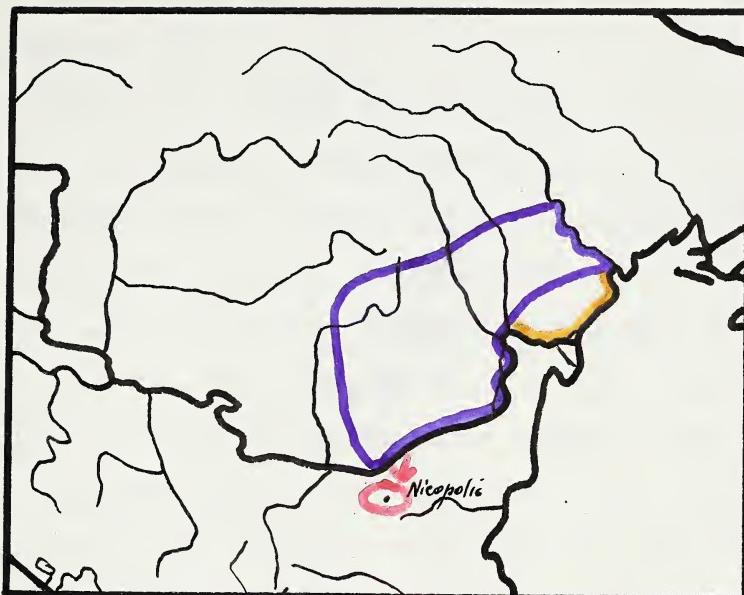
THE VISIGOTHS¹⁾

In 271 A.D. the Visigoths undertook another raid into Illyria and Thrace and then turned against their barbaric neighbours. In 280 A.D. they chased the Bastarnae with some other Non-Germanic tribes behind the Danube. (See Map 107). In 290 A.D. they repelled the attack of the Vandals and the Gepidae. Diocletian and Constantine the Great fortified the Danube frontier and thus made further raids very difficult. As auxiliary troops of the Romans the Visigoths took part in many battles. They also attempted several raids, contrary to the treaty which they made, into imperial territories during the reign of Constantine. They were, however, in all cases turned back by the imperial armies. In 335 A.D. the Visigoths repelled the attack of the Vandals and the Sarmatae.

In 348 A.D. part of the Christian Visigoths, persecuted by Athanaric , were granted permission to settle in the area around Nicopolis and Plevna in Moesia inferior. (See Map 107). This was the group with which Wulfila was associated.

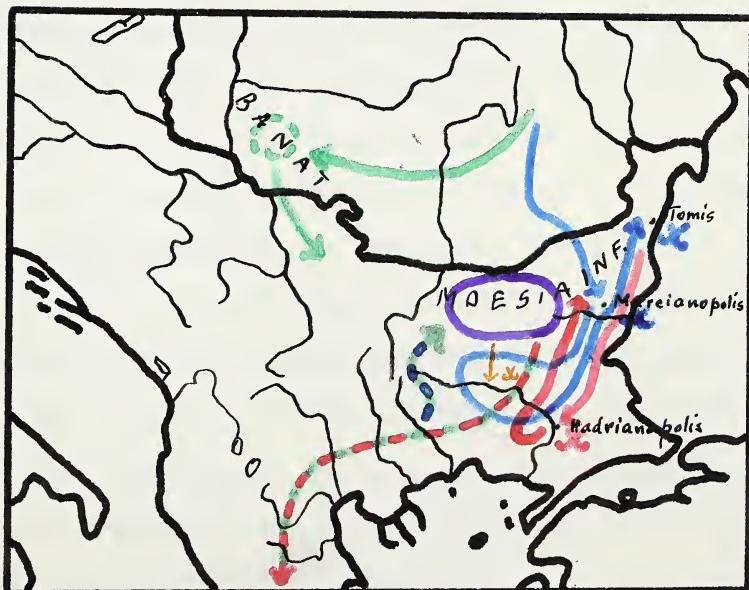
In 376 A.D. the majority of the Visigoths under pressure from the Huns crossed the Danube and had to be settled in a part of Thrace. Athanaric with a small remnant, retreated into the highlands of Banat. (See Map 108). The Visigoths who had crossed the Danube, however, under Alavivus and Frithigern, soon became dissatisfied with their treatment at the hands of the Romans and war broke out between the ^{two} ₂ parties. The imperial army was defeated in 377 A.D. at Marcianopolis. (See Map 108). In 378 A.D. Frithigern made an incursion into

1) See foot note 3) on page 58.



Map 107.

violet	270 - 376 A.D.
orange	280 - "
red	348 - VI.cent. A.D. (Ulfilas)



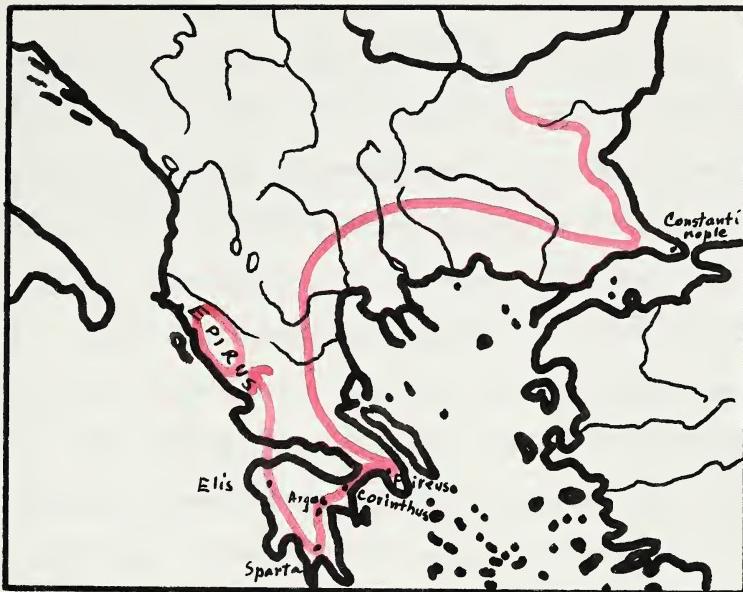
Map 108.

blue	377 A.D.	green	380 A.D. Athanaric
red	"	green/blue	382 A.D.
red/green	380 " Frithigern	orange	391/2 "
		violet	382 - 395 A.D.

Thrace, and in a battle with the imperial army at Hadrianopolis the Goths won a great victory. The Emperor Valens fell in the battle. (See Map 108). However, the next year Theodosius cleared Thrace ~~out of~~ of the Visigoths. In 380 A.D. the Visigoths of Frithigern raided Macedonia and Thessaly, whilst the Ostrogoths under Alatheus and Safrac turned west and finally settled in Pannonia. (See Map 108). In the same year Athanaric made an alliance with the Romans and crossed ~~on the~~ ^{to} Romans soil. (See Map 108). In 381 A.D. after the death of Frithigern Athanaric became the sole leader of the Visigoths and was granted permission to settle with his people in Moesia inferior. (See Map 108). Then, however, the Visigoths under Alaric became restless again, and started their new migration in 395 A.D. After an ineffectual move against Constantinople they turned westward, crossed Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly, entered Greece, captured Pireus, crossed to Peloponesus and captured here Corinth, Argos and Sparta. (See Map 109). But surrounded by the troops of Stilicho, who had arrived in 397, and hemmed them in the mountains around Elis, they succeeded in breaking through and reaching Epirus, where they remained for a few years. (See Map 109).

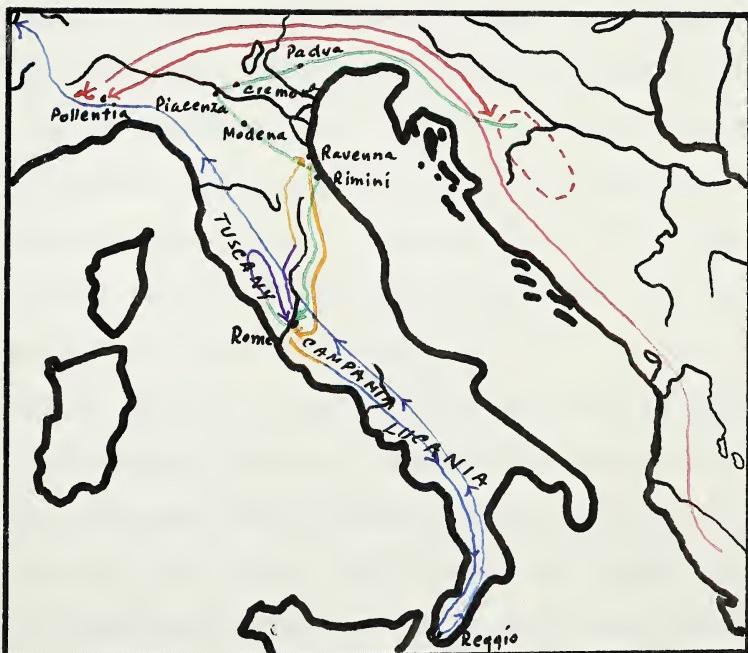
In 401 A.D. Alaric made his first invasion into Italy. He crossed the Julian Alps, besieged unsuccessfully Aquileja, retreated from Milan before Stilicho who had arrived on the scene with a big army, and after an indecisive battle near Pollentia returned to Istria or Dalmatia. (See Map 110).

In 408 A.D. Alaric again invaded Italy. The route that he



Map 109.

395 - 397 A.D.



Map 110.

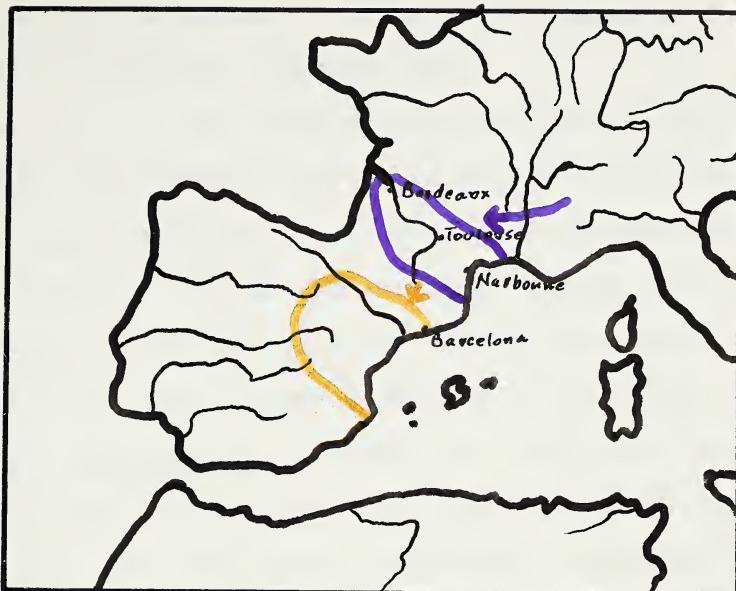
red

green/viol./orange/blue 408/12 "

401/2 A.D.

followed this time was Padua, Cremona, Piacenza, Modena, Rimini, Rome. (See Map 110). Rome was besieged and after the payment of a ransom the Visigoths discontinued the siege and moved into Tuscany. (See Map 110). After unsuccessful negotiations with the Emperor Alaric besieged Rome again, forced the senate to elect an anti-emperor Attalus and thereupon besieged the Emperor in Ravenna. (See Map 110). In 410 A.D., after unsuccessful negotiation with the Emperor he marched on Rome again, stormed the city and the Visigoths looted in the capital for 3 days. (See Map 110). From Rome the Visigoths moved south through Campania and Lucania to Reggio with the intention of crossing through Sicily to Africa. But Alaric's fleet was destroyed by a storm and he again marched to the north, but died on the way. (See Map 110).

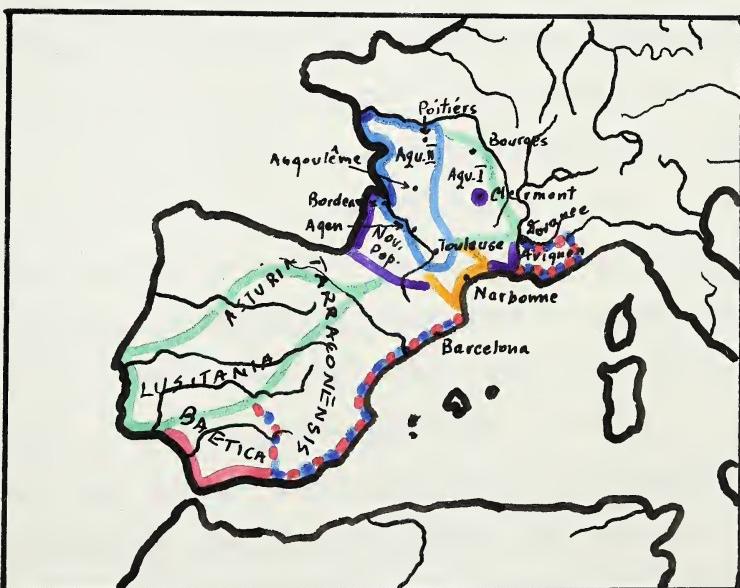
Alaric's successor, Atawulf, took the Visigoths in 412 A.D. into Gaul. (See Map 110). By 413 A.D. the Visigoths had occupied Southern Gaul with the cities of Valence, Toulouse, Bordeaux and Narbonne in their possession. (See Map 111). The Romans, however, blocked the ports of Gaul and the shortage of food forced the Visigoths, who were also threatened by a big Roman army, to cross to Spain, where they occupied in 415 A.D. a part of the province of Tarragonensis with Barcelona as capital. Under their king Wallia they severely defeated the Silingian Vandals and the Alans in 416 - 418 A.D. But after this, being now foederati of Rome, the Visigoths were called off from Spain and given land in Aquitania II, that is, the land between the Loire and the



Map 111.

violet
orange

413 - 415 A.D.
415 - 418 "



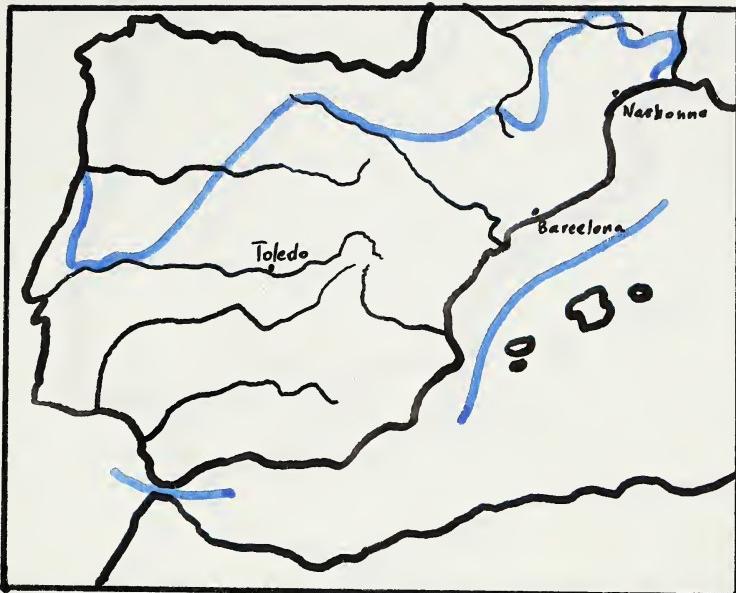
Map 112.

blue 418 - 507 A.D.
orange 462 - " "
green 468/9 - " "

violet 475 - 507 A.D.
red/blue 477 - " "
red after 484 - " "

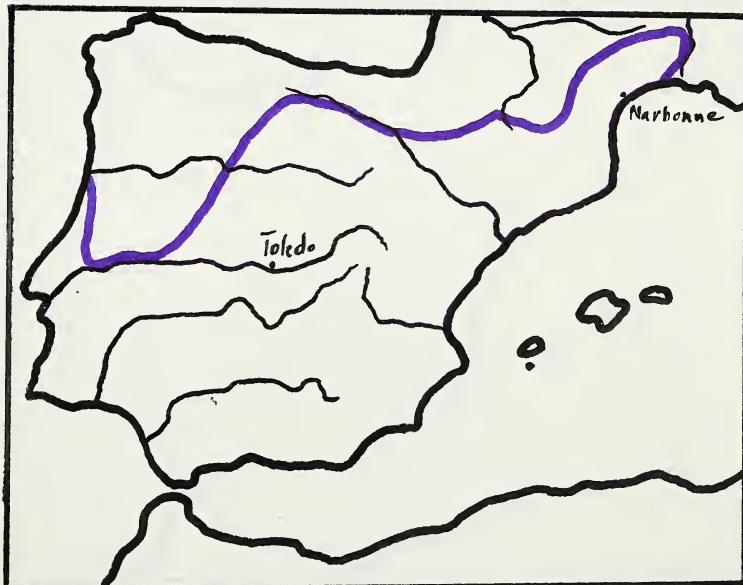
Garonne, with the cities of Bordeaux, Agen, Angoulême, Poitiers, and the northwestern part of Narbonensis I with the city of Toulouse. (See Map 112).

In 451 A.D. the Visigoths participated as allies of the Romans in the defeat of Attila at Troyes. In 456 A.D. with their Burgundian allies they were again in Spain and began a long campaign against the Swebians. In 462 A.D. the Visigoths annexed Narbonne with the southwestern part of Gaul. (See Map 112). They probably started to penetrate at this time into Novempopulana. In 464 A.D. the Gothic troops, with the exception of some garrisons, were evacuated from Spain. In 468 A.D. the Goths again penetrated into Spain and were finally successful in establishing themselves in Lusitania and Asturia. (See Map 112). In 469 A.D. they annexed Aquitania I with the city of Bourges and penetrated into the valley of the Lower Rhone. (See Map 112). In 471 A.D., after having beaten the Romans, they penetrated on the right bank of the Rhone and held these areas for a short time under their control, but were unable to hold these territories because of the Burgundian pressure. In 475 A.D. a treaty with the Romans recognized Visigothic possession of Aquitania I and II, Novempopulana, Narbonensis I and part of Lugdunensis III with the city of Tours. (See Map 112). They also took at this time the city of Clermont. (See Map 112). In 477 A.D. they annexed Provence east of the Rhone and south of the Durance, and about this time they also completed the conquest of Tarraco-nensis in Spain. (See Map 112). Under Alaric II, that is



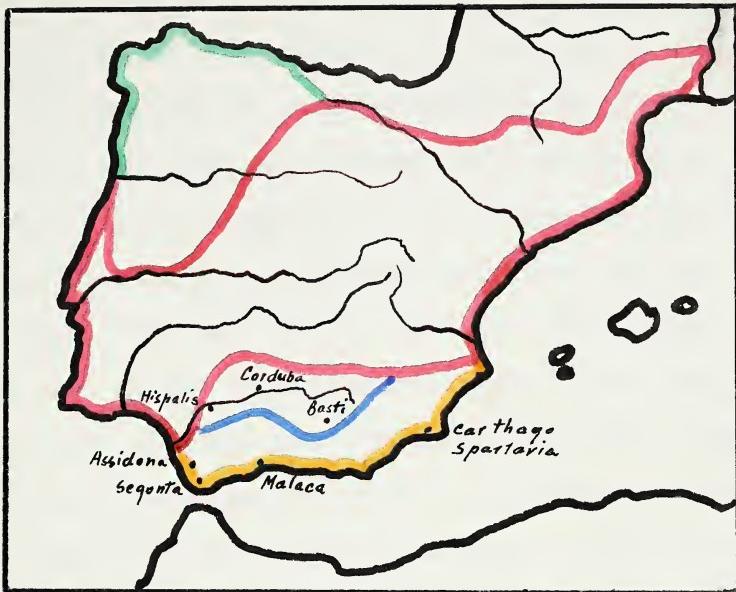
Map 113.

507 - 531 A.D.



Map 114.

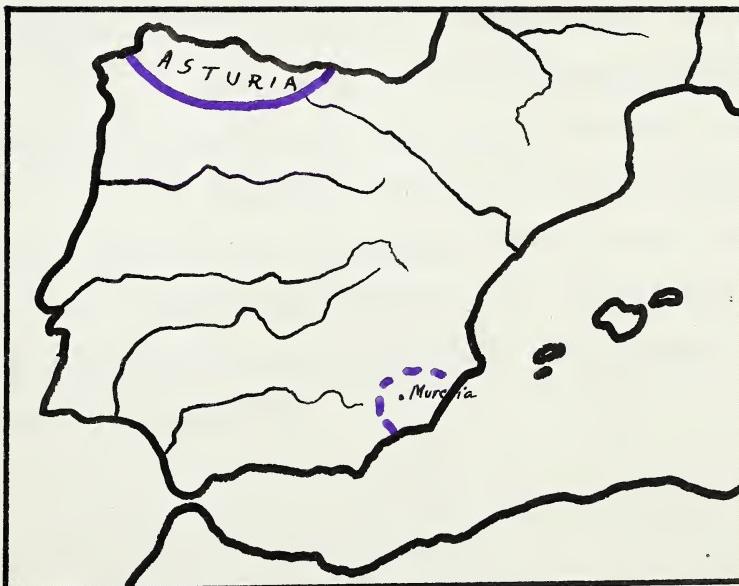
531 - ca 550 A.D.



Map 115.

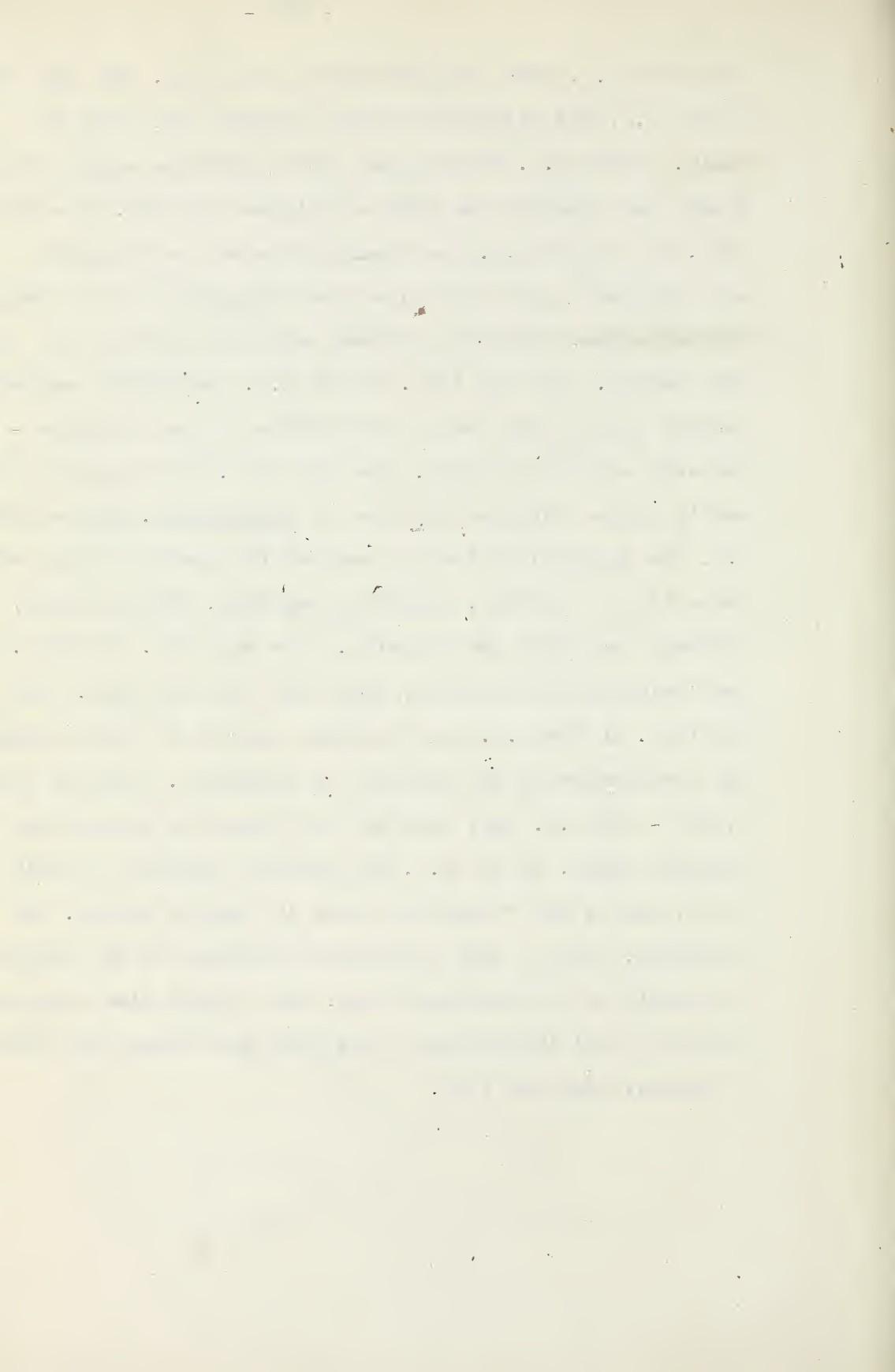
red
blue
green
orange

ca 550 - 711 A.D.
572 - "
584 - "
620/30 - "



Map 116.

after 484 A.D. they occupied Baetica in Spain. (See Map 112). In 490 A.D. the Visigoths helped Theodoric the Great in Italy. In 501 A.D. they helped the Burgundians against the Franks and obtained the city of Avignon for this. (See Map 112). But in 507 A.D. the Franks defeated the Visigoths and occupied a good portion of the Visigothic land in France. In France the Visigoths retained only the southern part of the country. (See Map 113). In 531 A.D. the Franks annexed another part of the French territories of the Visigoths - the area east of Toulouse. (See Map 114). The Visigoths held now in France only the province of Narbonensis. Before 554 A.D. the Byzantine troops occupied the south of Spain with the cities of Corduba, Assidona, Segontia, Malaca, Basti, Carthago Spartaria and Hispalis. (See Map 115). In 572 A.D. the Visigoths took Corduba, Basti and Hispalis back. (See Map 115). In 584 A.D. the Visigoths annexed to their state the territories of the Swebians in Gallaecia. (See Map 115). In 620 - 630 A.D. they took all the Byzantine possessions in Southern Spain. In 711 A.D. the Moorish invasion of Spain put an end to the Visigothic power in Western Europe. The Visigoths, after a weak resistance retreated in the mountains of Asturia in Northwestern Spain. For a short time there also existed a semi-independent Visigothic area around the city of Murcia. (See Map 116).



Chapter 18

THE WARNI (EASTERN BRANCH)

The original homeland of the Warni was probably in Norway, where there is a place called Varnes.¹⁾ Later at an indefinite time a large part of the tribe migrated into the Jutish Peninsula, where they are later found between the Anglii and the Teutoni.²⁾ (See Map 117). Another and smaller part of the tribe migrated into Northeastern Germany. (See Map 117). Pliny mentions them as Varinne, but considers them to be Vandals.³⁾ Ptolomy's Uirunon are situated east of the Oder, south of the Rugikleioi, north of the Burgundians.⁴⁾ This would indicate a region in Central Pommerania. (See Map 118). Ptolomy's Avarinoi, whom he places east of the sources of the Vistula, are in Schmidt's opinion⁵⁾ an error of Ptolomy, to be compared with his Ombrones, placed by him immediately south of the Avarinoi, and whom Schmidt regards as the Ambrones of the Jutish Peninsula. Schmidt therefore thinks that Ptolomy erroneously put the Jutish Ambrones and the Warni in the areas east of the sources of the Vistula.⁶⁾ Much, however, is inclined to accept the evidence of Ptolomy as proof that the Vistula Warni were a Vandal tribe.⁷⁾

Schmidt further suggests that these northern Warni moved south and settled in Upper Silesia, possibly as the result

1) Schmidt: Geschichte der deutschen Stämme, Vol. I, p. 127.
2) Ibid.

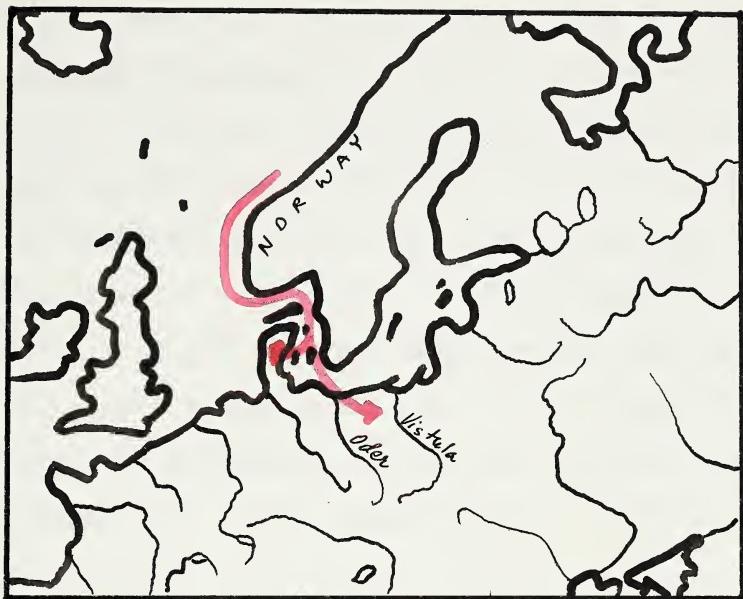
3) IV, 99 (in Schmidt: ibid.)

4) III, 5, 8 (in Schmidt: ibid.)

5) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 127.

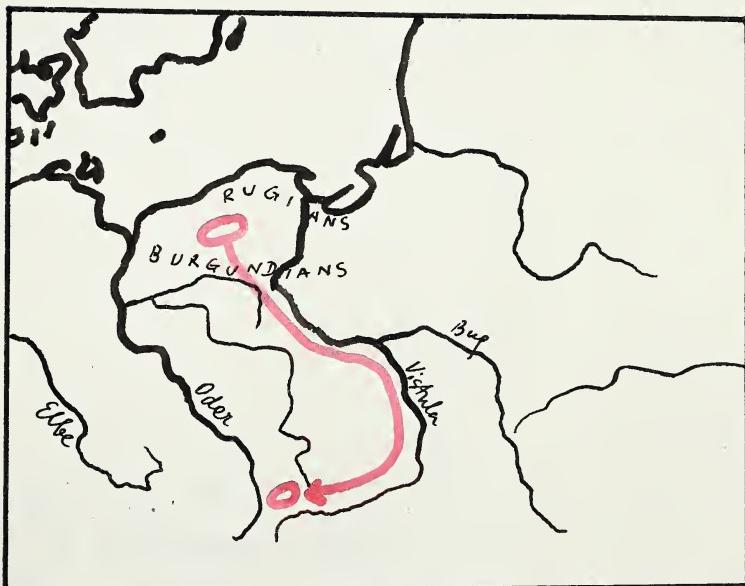
6) Ibid.

7) Hoops: Reallexik.d.German.Altertumskunde, Vol. IV, p. 484.



Map 117.

Schmidt.



Map 118.

IV - V. cent. A.D.

of pressure of the Rugians.¹⁾ Together with Schwarz²⁾ he thinks that they might be camouflaged under the designation Transiugitani of Ammianus, or perhaps a part of this tribe, or group of tribes.³⁾ Some of these Warni must have joined the Quadi and the Vandals in their westward migration in 406 A.D. Theodoric II, the king of the Visigoths, appointed a Warnian Agiwulf as governor over the conquered Swebians. Risiulf⁴⁾ in flight from the Langobardian king Wacho in 510 A.D. sought refuge among the Silesian Warni. The Langobards must at this time have occupied adjacent territories. The ultimate fate of this small Germanic tribe is not known.⁵⁾

1) Schmidt: op. cit. p. 127.

2) Ibid.

3) 17, 12 (in Schmidt: ibid.)

4) Ibid.

5) Ibid.

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